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MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOLUME V.

October, 1910---July, 1911.

PUBLISHED BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF MISSOURI.

F. A. SAMPSON, Secretary,
EDITOR.

COLUMBIA, MO.

1911

CONTENTS.

Administrations of Missouri Governors:

First Paper: Gov. Hamilton Rowan Gamble, by Judge John F. Philips 1

Second Paper: Gov. Willard Preble Hall, by Judge John F. Philips 69

American Historical Association.....112

Battle of Kirksville, by Prof. E. M. Violette..... 94

Book Notices.....54, 119, 185, 245

Bryant's Station and its founder, William Bryant, by Thos. Julian Bryant 150

Capture of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781, by Fred J. Teggart 214

Christ Church parish, Boonville, Cooper Co., Mo., by Capt. S. W. Ravenel 229

John Clark, pioneer preacher and founder of Methodism in Missouri, by Rev. Joab Spencer.....174

Livingston County, Mo., by L. T. Collier.....238

Missouri Society of Teachers of History Department.....65, 127

Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries:

First Paper: Jefferson City..... 43

Second Paper: Jefferson City.....113

Third Paper: Jefferson City.....179

Fourth Paper: Jefferson City.....242

Necrology.....62, 122, 188, 252

Notes.....59, 250

Old Newspaper files..... 34

Population and extent of settlement in Missouri before 1804, by Dr. J. Viles.....189

Recollections of the first Catholic Missions in Central Missouri, by Rev. Joseph H. Schmidt..... 83

Side lights on the Missouri Compromise, by Frank H. Hodder....138

Two Missouri Historians, by H. E. Robinson.....129

Washington Irving, Travels in Missouri and the South, notes by F. A. Sampson..... 15

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CONTENTS.

Hamilton Rowan Gamble and the Provisional Government of Missouri, by Judge John F. Philips - - - - - 1

Washington Irving. Travels in Missouri and the South - - - - - 15

Old Newspaper Files of the State Historical Society - - - - - 34

Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, First Paper - - - 43

Book Notices - - - - - 54

Notes - - - - - 59

Necrology - - - - - 62

Department of History Teachers - - 65

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 5. OCTOBER, 1910. NO. 1.

HAMILTON ROWAN GAMBLE AND THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF MISSOURI.

Hamilton Rowan Gamble was born in Winchester, Virginia, November 29th, 1798. His grandfather emigrated from Ireland to the Colony of Pennsylvania in 1753, but after a few years returned to his native land. His eldest son, however, returned to America prior to the Revolution, and served conspicuously as an engineer in the American army during the war. Subsequently he became a prominent citizen of Philadelphia, occupying the chair of Professor of Greek and Latin in the University of Pennsylvania. A younger son, Joseph, was born in Ireland, after the father returned there. He was the father of the subject of this article. His wife was Anne Hamilton, daughter of John Hamilton, of the Strath, Ireland. They arrived and settled in Virginia in 1784. There were seven children born to them; the youngest of whom was Hamilton Rowan Gamble. From this Hibernian strain, doubtless, came that rich vein of genuine humor which, now and then, in conversation enlivened as a glad sunbeam his serious face, and often flashed out in his speeches relieving the severity of his logic.

His academic education was completed at Hampden-Sidney College, Prince Edward County. He studied law; and

such were his precocity and development that by the time he reached his majority he had been admitted to the bar in three states. At first he went to Tennessee; but becoming attracted to St. Louis he arrived there in 1818, and became deputy circuit clerk under his elder brother Archibald Gamble. The spirit of adventure and enterprise being strong in him he went farther west, and located at Old Franklin, the county seat of Howard County, which at that time comprised more than one-half of the territory of the State. By the force of specific ascendancy he soon became Prosecuting Attorney of that vast jurisdiction. In that capacity he early displayed a conspicuous quality of his character, a conscientious sense of duty. If he discovered that the person charged with the commission of an offense was not guilty, or that the evidence against him was not satisfactory to his honest mind, he did not hesitate to ask leave to enter a nolle, or suggest to the jury a verdict of not guilty. And this was characteristic of his whole private and public life,—inculcating the aphorism that success won at the sacrifice of justice is dishonor.

There is a tradition, vouched for by Hon. James O. Broadhead, as coming second handed from Judge Abiel Leonard, that while Gamble, Leonard and John R. French were "young limbs of the law" at Old Franklin, French and some one, whose name is forgotten, agreed to fight a duel. Gamble and Leonard were the seconds. The party rode horse back across the State to Louisiana, Pike County, near the selected place for the deadly encounter, known then as Chenal Ecarti, on the Mississippi River. All stopped at an old hostelry, wearied with the trip, and sought rejuvenation in that elixir that either makes friends or enemies of those who touch glasses. They stood elbow to elbow and man to man as the glasses clicked together; and as their hearts warmed their hands clasped in friendship, and the duel was indefinitely postponed.

When Frederick Bates became Governor of the State young Gamble was selected as Secretary, which took him to St. Charles, then the seat of Government. Governor Bates

soon thereafter died, whereupon Mr. Gamble returned to St. Louis, and resumed the practice of law. There meeting Miss Coalter, of Columbia, South Carolina, he wooed and was accepted, and they were married at the old homestead in November, 1827. The bride's father was a distinguished South Carolinian. His daughters must have possessed rare charms of person and character, for others of them wedded such men as Edward Bates, of St. Louis, William C. Preston, of South Carolina, Chancellor Harper, and Dr. Means, brother of Governor Means, of South Carolina, himself a leading planter and citizen of the Commonwealth.

Such were his attainments and qualities that in a short time he stood at the forefront of a bar that could boast of such members as Thomas H. Benton, Henry S. Geyer, and David Barton, United States Senators, Mathias McGirk and Robert Wash, afterwards members of the Supreme Court, and his brother-in-law, Edward Bates, afterwards Attorney General of the United States; and he was the peer of after-comers, greater lawyers than they. All of whom found Gamble, at Nisi or before the higher courts, a most formidable competitor; always to be feared and respected for his surpassing ability and tact.

His distinctive attainments and judicial temper commended him for a place on the Supreme bench of the State, to which he was elected, receiving an unprecedented majority although in politics he was of the minority party. He took his seat in that court in 1851. There was then no office of Chief Justice, but his associates voted him the presidency of the court. His first opinion appears on the first page of the 15th and his last in the 20th volume of the Supreme Court reports. Although his career on the bench was short his opinions built for him an enduring monument as an eminent jurist. Owing to increasing ill health he resigned in November, 1854. Returning to St. Louis he seldom appeared thereafter in the Nisi courts, but occasionally in important causes before the higher courts of the State and Nation.

By his good business sense and the income from his profession he accumulated a considerable fortune, sufficient to enable him to seek rest from the hard life of the lawyer, and to give attention to his impaired health. In order to find that surcease, and with a view to the supervision of the education of his children he took up a temporary residence near Norristown, Pennsylvania; where he pursued his reading of the best literature, and the study of the history and science of government and political economy. He was not a politician, in the ordinary sense of the term. But he was an observant student of the ebb and flow of the tides of State and National affairs, the undercurrents and trend of public opinion. Few men possessed more familiarity with the history of the country in its passage through the Colonial epoch into the formation of the federal Union. He knew the phases and import of every article and section of the federal Constitution. He was familiar with the interpretations and applications given it by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the **rationale** of every decision touching its meaning and operation. He went deep into the science and philosophy of our form of government, State and National. So that when the great crisis of the impending civil war came, which was to test the capacity of the Constitution in peace and war, and to solve the problem of the dependence of the federal Union on the will of each of the States to the federation, naturally enough his constituency at home, representing the vital interests of the commercial metropolis of the Mississippi valley, turned to the Sage in retirement at Norristown, and appealed to him to represent them in the Convention called by the state legislature to convene at the Capital on February 28th, 1861, to consider the relations of the State to the Federal Union. While a sense of duty to himself and his family made desirable his restful, quiet life in a distant peaceful State, he, doubtless, recalled the sentiment of the Old Roman patriot: **necesse est ut eam non ut vivam,** and he heeded that call, receiving the almost unanimous vote of his Senatorial District.

In some respects that convention was the most remarkable

body of men that ever assembled in the State. With few exceptions, they were not of the class usually found in legislature, or popular assemblages. They were grave, thoughtful, discreet, educated men, profoundly impressed with the great responsibilities of their position. Among them were ex-Judges of the Supreme Court, ex-Governors, ex-Congressmen, ex-State Senators and Representatives, leading lawyers, farmers, merchants, bankers, and retired business men, representing the varied, vital interests of the communities. No impartial, intelligent man can look over the debates of that body, extending over two years and more, without being deeply impressed with the idea of their tremendous intellectual power and sense of moral, patriotic obligation.

True it is, that there were to be seen and heard among them the siren voice of the politician of low degree, "big with vacuity"—self seeking partisans. But I recall the visable effect of Judge Gamble's rebuke, when under provocation from a noisome, inveterate talker, he said:

> "What should be the object of each one of us? Is it to represent a party connected with the administration of the Federal Government, or opposed to it? Is it for the purpose of representing any of the defunct political parties that have passed from the stage of action? We have nothing to do with them. We came here and are to act with reference to no question that concerns them or their past history, their future resuscitation or domination in this State. We are to act for the people of the State of Missouri in reference to their interest, their honor, in reference to the perpetuation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed,—as long as we have trod the soil of Missouri. If, Sir, there be a feeling that one is to obtain a triumph over the other, certainly the only triumph now worthy of attainment, is that of being found more faithful than others in discharge of duties devolving upon us." (1)

1. Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention held at Jefferson City, July, 1861, p. 73.

There were some great speeches made before that Convention, dealing with the character of the federal Union, the relations of the respective States thereto, and the lawful right of one of them without the consent of others to withdraw, ad libitum, from the Union. Judge Gamble never made a set speech. He disliked mere meretricious display, in which self is never lost sight of. He was, indeed, what Rufus Choate termed a thing most rare, "a reasonable, modest, learned man." He was not an orator, in the popular sense. His eloquence was that masterful logic, deep, sincere earnestness, that overwhelms sophistry and convinces intelligent judgment. No art of the adversary could deflect him from the objective point under consideration. He stuck with pertinaceous energy to the facts and law that controlled, and struck hard at the gnarled knots in the way.

There was one position, especially taken by Judge Gamble and Willard P. Hall, respecting the action to be declared by the Convention at its first session, which profoundly impressed all. It could not be better expressed than in the succinct summary of Hall's remarks on the occasion of taking the oath of office as Lieutenant Governor:

> "I believe, gentlemen, that to Missouri Union is peace and disunion is war. I believe that today Missouri could be as peaceful as Illinois, if her citizens had recognized their obligations to the Constitution and laws of their country. Whatever might be said by citizens of other States, certainly Missouri has no right to complain of the General Government. I believe it to be a fact that there is no law of a general character upon your statutes that has been enacted since Missouri came into the Union, but has received the vote and support of the representatives of the State. Whatever we have asked from the government of the United States has been given to us most cheerfully. We asked a liberal land policy and we got it; we asked grants for our railroads and we got them; we asked for a fugitive

slave law and it was given to us; we asked that our peculiar views in reference to the finances of the country should be regarded, and even that was granted. In short, if the people of this State had the whole control of the Federal Government, if there had been but one State in the Union, the very policy which has been adopted by the General Government would have been adopted as best calculated to advance the interests of the State. * * * Notwithstanding the denunciations we sometimes hear against the Government of the United States and the assaults made upon it, I am free to admit, that when I reflect upon the history of this State, when I remember its humble origin,—upon the proud and exalted position it occupied but a few months ago,my affections do cluster around the government of my country. As a Missourian I desire no change in the political relations that exist between this State and the Government of the United States; and least of all, do I desire such a change as will throw her into the arms of those who have proved unfaithful to the high trust imposed upon them by a generous and confiding people." (2)

When the convention disappointed the expectations of the authors of the legislative act calling it, by declining to pass an ordinance of secession, Governor Claib Jackson, as was then more than suspected and believed by well informed men, busied himself covertly with preparations to have his Legislature pass such an ordinance, and to be prepared with a military force to enforce its recognition. The developments of history, disclosed since the war, fully confirm that belief. When Frank Blair brought about the contretemps of the Camp Jackson maneuver, the Governor captured the President of the Convention, General Sterling Price, by making him commander of the Militia of the State; and with him and a ma-

2. Proceedings of the Missouri State Convention held at Jefferson City, July, 1861, p. 136.

jority of the Legislature and the heads of the executive departments, carrying off the great seal of the State, assembled at Neosho, and went through the form of passing an act of secession. Disbanding, the Governor and staff, with the Lieutenant Governor, with the seal of the State, went outside of the State, within the military lines under the flag of the Southern Confederacy, proclaiming that they were a part of the Confederacy. They could not return to the capital of Missouri without the risk of being arrested for treason.

The result was that the Convention, in session at the capitol found itself confronted with a most anomalous situation. The State treasury was depleted, and the Convention was left without the means of defraying its own expenses. There was no military force to protect the State in the condition of exposure to anarchy. The State was under martial law; and a German military commandant, with but crude ideas of civil government, was dominant at the State capital. Under the recent census the State was entitled to two additional representatives in the Congress of the United States, demanding a new apportionment of the Congressional districts, or a legislative enactment providing for the manner of securing such additional representation. The Legislature had disbanded without making any provision therefor.

What was the duty of the members of the Convention in such a conjuncture to the people of the State who had sent them to the capital to represent them? Were they to display the moral cowardice of those "who do not care what becomes of the Ship of State, so that they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune," or should they first save the State, and leave their action to the sober judgment of posterity? They chose the latter course.

Naturally enough the few favoring secession or nothing, and others in sympathy with the absent State officials, desiring that nothing should be done conflicting with the mere theory of their official existence, vigorously opposed any action of the Convention other than an adjournment sine die. The opposition was led principally, in so far as talking was

concerned, by Uriel Wright of St. Louis, who had come to the Convention as an unconditional Unionist; and at its first session had made a three days' speech in opposition to the whole theory of secession, minimizing the grievances of the seceding States, with a force of eloquence that enthused, beyond description, the entire Convention, including the presiding officer, General Price, who while with dignity seeking to repress the applause of the galleries, said to me on adjournment, in walking to the old Planter's House where we boarded: "That speech was so fine I too felt like applauding." But alas, for the infirmaty of great geniuses, Wright was carried off of his high pedestal by the small incident of the Camp Jackson affair, and came to the July session of the Convention anxious to display the usual zeal of the new convert. So he turned loose the whole vocabulary of his invective against everything and everybody pro-Union. To my conception he was the most brilliant orator of the State, with a vast wealth of historical, political and literary information. Like a very tragedian he bestrode the platform, and with the harmony of accent and emphasis he charmed like a siren. But he was unsteady in judgment, unstable in conviction and inconsistent of purpose. And, therefore, was wanting in that moral force that holds and leads thoughtful men. His rhetoric went into thin air before the severe logic and more sincere eloquence of such men as Judge Gamble, the two brothers, William A. and Willard P. Hall, John B. Henderson and James O. Broadhead.

The arguments advanced in favor of the power of the Convention to establish a Provisional government to meet the emergency may be summarized as follows: The Convention called for by the Legislature was elected by popular vote of the people. Under our form of representative government when such delegates met they were as the whole people of the State assembled. Insofaras concerned the domestic, local affairs and policy of the State, the people were all powerful to make and unmake, bind and unbind, so long as they maintained a government Republican in form, and not in conflict with the Federal constitution. The only recognizable limita-

tion upon its power was to be found in the terms of the legislative enactment calling it.

In anticipation and expectation of the framers of the act, that an Ordinance of secession would be adopted, they sought to invest the Convention with most plenary powers, in order to meet the requirements of the new, extraordinary conditions likely to arise, both from without and within the State. Accordingly the Convention was authorized not only to take consideration of the existing relations between the government of the United States and the governments and people of the different States, but also "the government and people of the State of Missouri, and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State, and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded." So that the Convention during its deliberations found civil government in the State paralyzed, without a head, society unprotected by the arm of the State, disorder and confusion fast spreading over it like a pall of anarchy. It was the deliberate judgment of the great majority that it was neither extra-constitutional, usurpatory, nor without the recognized law of public necessity, that it should provide a Provisional Government, **ad interim.**

The first step in this work of conservation was to provide for an executive head. And no higher evidence of the conservative impulses of the Convention could be furnishel than the fact of its designation of Hamilton R. Gamble as Governor and Willard P. Hall as Lieutenant Governor. Where could have been found two wiser, safer, more prudent, unselfish men? Their very names were a rainbow of promise to the sorely vexed and perplexed people of the State. With unriring energy, consummate ability and unfaltering courage Governor Gamble set his face and all the aids he could command to the work of restoring order, lawful process, and peace within the borders of the commonwealth.

That in that endeavor and purpose he and his coadjutors should have encountered opposition and criticism from the very element he so earnestly strove to protect excited wonder

among thoughtful, good citizens at the time; and in the light of experience it now seems anomalous. There were two extremes in the State. One was the impracticable theorists, who rather than accept deliverence from any source other than the Claib Jackson defunct government, would accept anarchy. The other was the inflamed Radicals, who preferred the substitution of military for civil government, so long as under its bloody reign they could make reprisals and reek personal spites upon an unarmed class who had incurred their dislike. In other words, they preferred a condition of disorder and confusion as more favorable to rapine, plunder and persecution. The very determined policy of the Gamble administration to extend protection to noncombatants, to life, liberty and property, was made the slogan of the rapidly recruiting forces of radicalism that "the Gamble Government" was but another name for Southern Sympathy. This feeling was ingeniously communicated to the Secretary of War, Stanton, whose motto seemed to be **aut Caesar aut Nihil.**

Between the two factions, the one denying on every occasion the lawful authority of his administration, and, therefore, yielding him not even needed moral support, and the other demanding non-interference with predatory warfare and reprisals on "Rebel Sympathizers," to say nothing of the machinations of ambitious politicians, his soul was sorely vexed and tried. But with a fortitude as sublime as his moral courage he never hesitated nor halted in waging, with all the force and resources at his command, an uncompromising war on outlawry, no matter under what guise it masqueraded or under what banner it despoiled. He believed in liberty with law and government without unnecessary oppression.

Criticism was made by some of the action of the Convention in taking upon itself the exercise of the legislative function, in repealing some enactments of the Jackson Legislature, and in declaring some new statutory provisions. On its face the criticism seemed plausible, inasmuch as it could not be said that it was in the contemplation of the Jackson Legislature that the Convention would undo its legislation, and that

the power to legislate was not expressed, **ipsissime verbis,** in the call. The answer to which was and is that the grant of power to do certain things carries with it by implication all the reasonable agencies and instrumentalities for effectuating the exercise of it. So when the Convention was authorized by the creative act to adopt such measures as to it seemed demanded to vindicate the sovereignty of the State and afford protection to its people, the Convention when it met, clothed with the functions of the whole people under so broad provisions, was empowered to put out of the way obstructive acts and to substitute such as were deemed essential to accomplish the great objects it was commissioned to compass. This the Convention did, provisionally, until such time as the people could in the customary manner hold elections and elect a legislative body; which the Convention authorized and encouraged.

The State was without representation in the Senate at Washington. The two Senators theretofore elected by the Legislature, Truston Polk of St. Louis and Waldo P. Johnson of Osceola, when the war began, seceded to take sides with the Confederacy. Governor Gamble designated for one of the vacancies Robert Wilson, of Andrew County, who was a member of the Convention, in whom he recognized such sterling qualities of mind and staunch patriotism as to make him a safe depository of such a trust in such a crisis. In the temporary absence from the State of Governor Gamble, Lieutenant Governor Hall designated John B. Henderson, another distinguished member of the Convention, to fill the other vacant seat in the Senate. His career in the Senate vindicated the wisdom of the appointment.

Oppressed with the heavy burdens of such an office, under such conditions, and weakened physically with increasing ill health, Governor Gamble tendered his resignation to the Convention in 1863, and begged that it be accepted. But so profoundly impressed was the Convention with the supreme importance to the welfare of the State that he should continue his great work, it implored him to withdraw the resignation.

I can yet see his palid face, furrowed with the ravages of care and disease, his hair like burnished silver, his eyes aglow with the fire of martyrdom, his voice so mellow, yet perfectly modulated, as he stood before the Convention and said: "Your will be done not mine." With the harness chafing and bearing hard upon his wasting frame he went on to his death, January 31st, 1864, lamented and honored at his funeral as I have never before or since witnessed in this State.

That the Convention which called into existence the Provisional Government committed mistakes, in the way of exercise of power in certain directions, in the light which time throws upon the actions of men, may be conceded. But, as was well said by a great jurist: "No argument can be drawn from the wisdom that comes after the fact." As applied to little profit as a future guide, as the occasion for its use will never arise again, we trust.

The fact, however, remains that the Convention kept the State firmly lashed to her constitutional moorings in the Union; that the Provisional Government sought, with large measure of success, to give the people civil in lieu of military government, the reign of law for lawlessness, order for disorder. It opened the courts of justice, and gave the people the process of law in place of the Praetorian guard. It collected and husbanded the State and county revenues; and maintained the sovereignty of the State and its harmonious relation to the general civil government by providing for its representation in the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

As the commander of one of the ten Regiments Governor Gamble induced President Lincoln to organize in the State, as arm of the Union army, I was frequently brought into official relations with him. I bear testimony that he was one of the purest minded, most unselfish and wisest of men, a sincere patriot and Christian gentleman.

There are now only four survivors of that memorable Convention: General John B. Henderson, Judge Elijah Norton, Colonel William T. Leper and myself.

When the reins of government fell from the nerveless hands of Governor Gamble they were taken up by Lieutenant Governor Hall, than whom no safer man lived. He was a great lawyer, familiar with the conditions and needs of the State, and possessed the ability to provide for and the courage to demand them.

How blessed the Commonwealth, to have had the services of such Magistrates; and how the people should cherish their memory!

JNO. F. PHILIPS.

Kansas City, Mo.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

TRAVELS IN MISSOURI AND THE SOUTH.

Notes by F. A. Sampson.

In "Astoria" Washington Irving describes the expedition by land from St. Louis to the Pacific Coast, undertaken by the American Fur Company of which John Jacob Astor was the leading member, which expedition was organized in St. Louis in 1810. Of St. Louis the author says: (1)

"It possessed a motely population, composed of the Creole descendants of the original French colonists; the keen traders from the Atlantic States; the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Tennessee; the Indian and half-breeds of the prairies; together with a singular aquatic race, that had grown up from the navigation of the rivers—the 'boatmen of the Mississippi'; who possessed habits, manners and almost a language, peculiarly their own, and strongly technical. They, at that time, were extremely numerous, and conducted the chief navigation and commerce of the Ohio and Mississippi, as the voyageurs did of the Canadian waters; but, like them, their consequence and characteristics are rapidly vanishing before the all-pervading intrusion of steamboats.

"The old French houses engaged in the Indian trade had gathered round them a train of dependents, mongrel Indians, and mongrel Frenchmen, who had intermarried with Indians. These they employed in their various expeditions by land and water. Various individuals of other countries had, of late years, pushed the trade further into the interior, to the upper waters of the Missouri, and had swelled the number of these hangers-on. Several of these traders had, two or three years

1. Astoria or anecdotes of an enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains. By Washington Irving. Chi. & N. Y. n. d., p. 106.

previously, formed themselves into a company, composed of twelve partners, with a capital of about forty thousand dollars, called the Missouri Fur Company; the object of which was, to establish posts along the upper part of the river, and monopolize the trade. The leading partner of this Company was Mr. Manual Lisa, a Spaniard by birth, and a man of bold and enterprising character, who had ascended the Missouri almost to its source, and made himself well acquainted and popular with several of its tribes. By his exertions, trading posts had been established, in 1808, in the Sioux country, and among the Aricara and Mandan tribes; and a principal one, under Mr. Henry, one of the partners, at the forks of the Missouri. This Company had in its employ about two hundred and fifty men, partly American hunters, and partly Creoles and Canadian voyageurs.

"All these circumstances combined to produce a population at St. Louis even more motley than that at Mackinaw. Here were to be seen, about the river banks, the hectoring, extravagant, bragging boatmen of the Mississippi, with the gay, grimacing, singing, good-humored Canadian voyageurs. Vagrant Indians, of various tribes, loitered about the streets. Now and then a stark Kentucky hunter, in leather hunting-dress, with a rifle on shoulder and knife in belt, strode along. Here and there were new brick houses and shops, just set up by bustling, driving and eager men of traffic from the Atlantic States; while, on the other hand, the old French mansions, with open casements, still retained the easy, indolent air of the original colonists; and now and then the scraping of a fiddle, a strain of an ancient French song, or the sound of billiard balls, showed that the happy Gallic turn for gayety and amusement still lingered about the place.

"Such was the St. Louis at the time of Mr. Hunt's arrival there, and the appearance of a new fur company, with ample funds at its command, produced a strong sensation among the Indian traders of the place, and awakened keen jealousy and opposition on the part of the Missouri Company. Mr. Hunt proceeded to strengthen himself against all competition. For

this purpose, he secured to the interests of the Association another of those enterprising men, who had been engaged in individual traffic with the tribes of the Missouri. This was a Mr. Joseph Miller, a gentleman well educated and well informed, and of a respectable family of Baltimore. He had been an officer in the army of the United States, but had resigned in disgust, on being refused a furlough, and had taken to trapping beaver and trading among the Indians. He was easily induced by Mr. Hunt to join as a partner, and was considered by him, on account of his education and acquirements, and his experience in Indian trade, a valuable addition to the Company. Other arrangements were made for a quick departure, and forming a winter camp as far up the river as they could go that fall.

"Accordingly, on the twenty-first of October he took his departure from St. Louis. His party was distributed in three boats. One was the barge which he had brought from Mackinaw; another was of a larger size, such as was formerly used in navigating the Mohawk river, and known by the generic name of the Schenectody barge; the other was a large keel boat, at that time the grand conveyance on the Mississippi.

"In this way they set out from St. Louis, in buoyant spirits, and soon arrived at the mouth of the Missouri. This vast river, three thousand miles in length, and which, with its tributary streams, drains such an immense extent of country, was as yet but casually and imperfectly navigated by the adventurous bark of the fur trader, a steamboat had never yet stemmed its turbulent current. Sails were but of casual assistance, for it required a strong wind to conquer the force of the stream. The main dependence was on bodily strength and manual dexterity. The boats, in general, had to be propelled by oars and setting poles, or drawn by the hand and grappling hooks from one root or overhanging tree to another; or towed by the long cordelle, or towing line, where the shores were sufficiently clear of woods and thickets to permit the men to pass along the banks.

"During this slow and tedious progress, the boat would be exposed to frequent danger from floating trees and great masses of drifwood, or to be impaled upon snags and sawyers; that is to say, sunken trees, presenting a jagged or pointed end above the surface of the water. As the channel of the river frequently shifted from side to side, according to the bends and sand banks, the boat had, in the same way, to advance in a zigzag course. Often a part of the crew would have to leap into the water at the shallows, and wade along with the towing line, while their companions on board toilfully assisted with oar and setting pole. Sometimes the boat would seem to be retained motionless, as if spell-bound, opposite some point round which the current set with violence, and where the utmost labor scarce effected any visible progress.

"On these occasions it was that the merits of the Canadian voyageurs came into full action. Patient of toil, not to be disheartened by impediments and disappointments, fertile in expedients, and versed in every mode of humoring and conquering the wayward current, they would ply every exertion, sometimes in the boat, sometimes on shore, sometimes in the water, however cold; always alert, always in good humor; and should they at any time flag or grow weary, one of their popular boat songs, chanted by a veteran oarsman, and responded to in chorus, acted as a never-failing restorative.

"By such assiduous and persevering labor they made their way about four hundred and fifty miles up the Missouri, by the 16th of November, to the mouth of the Nodowa (2) as this was a good hunting country, and as the season was rapidly advancing, they determined to establish their winter quarters at this place; and, in fact two days after they had come to a halt, the river closed just above their encampment."

Here the party was joined by Mr. Robert McLellan a man who had distinguished himself in the Indian wars under General Wayne; also by John Day, a Virginian, who had for some years been in the employ of western traders. The

2. This was the present Nodaway river. In Bradbury's work it is called Naduet.

country around the place of encampment abounded in deer and wild turkeys, and provisions were abundant. From this place Mr. Hunt returned to St. Louis, to obtain an interpreter, acquainted with the language of the Sioux, and also additional hunters. He started on foot January 11, 1810; at Fort Osage, one hundred and fifty miles below, he bought two horses, and with two men, proceeded to St. Louis, where he arrived January 20th. Of his work then the author says:

"The greatest difficulty was to procure the Sioux interpreter. There was but one man to be met with at St. Louis who was fitted for the purpose, but to secure him would require much management. The individual in question was a half-breed, named Pierre Dorion; and as he figures hereafter in this narrative, and is, withal, a striking specimen of the hybrid race on the frontier, we shall give a few particulars concerning him. Pierre was the son of Dorion, the French interpreter, who accompanied Messrs. Lewis and Clarke in their famous exploring expedition across the Rocky mountains, old Dorion was one of those French creoles, descendants of the ancient Canadian stock, who abound on the western frontier, and amalgamate or cohabit with the savages. He had sojourned among various tribes, and perhaps left progeny among them all; but his regular or habitual wife was a Sioux squaw. By her he had a hopeful brood of half-breed sons, of whom Pierre was one. The domestic affairs of old Dorion were conducted on the true Indian plan. Father and sons would occasionally get drunk together, and then the cabin was a scene of ruffian brawl and fighting, in the course of which the old Frenchman was apt to get soundly belabored by his mongrel offspring. In a furious scuffle of the kind, one of the sons got the old man upon the ground, and was on the point of scalping him. "Hold! my son," cried the old fellow, in imploring accents, "you are too brave, too honorable to scalp your father!" This last appeal touched the French side of the half-breed's heart so he suffered the old man to wear his scalp unharmed.

* * * *

"The moment it was discovered by Mr. Lisa that Pierre Dorion was in treaty with the new and rival association, he endeavored by threats as well as by promises, to prevent his engaging in their service. His promises might, perhaps, have prevailed; but his threats, which related to the whiskey debt. only served to drive Pierre into the opposite ranks. Still, he took advantage of this competition for his services to stand out Mr. Hunt on the most advantageous terms, and, after a negotiation of nearly two weeks, capitulated to serve in the expedition, as hunter and interpreter, at the rate of three hundred dollars a year, two hundred of which were to be paid in advance.

"When Mr. Hunt had got everything ready for leaving St. Louis new difficulties arose. * * * Even Pierre Dorion, at the last moment, refused to enter the boat until Mr. Hunt consented to take his squaw and two children on board also. * * *

"Among the various persons who were to proceed up the Missouri with Mr. Hunt, were two scientific gentlemen: one Mr. John Bradbury, (3) a man of mature age, but great enterprise and personal activity, who had been sent out by the Linnaean Society of Liverpool, to make a collection of American plants; the other, a Mr. Nuttall, likewise an Englishman, younger in years, who has since made himself known as the author of "Travels in Arkansas," and a work on the "Genera of American Plants." Mr. Hunt had offered them the protection and facilities of his party, in their scientific researches up the Missouri. As they were not ready to depart at the moment of embarkation, they put their trunks on board of the boat, but remained at St. Louis until the next day, for the arrival of the post intending to join the expedition at St. Charles, a short distance above the mouth of the Missouri.

3. Bradbury published an account of this expedition in "Travels in the Interior of America, in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811; including a description of Upper Louisiana, together with the States of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Tennessee, with the Illinois and western territories, and containing remarks and observations useful to persons emigrating to these countries. Liverpool; 1817."

"The same evening, however, they learned that a writ had been issued against Pierre Dorion for his whiskey debt, by Mr. Lisa, as agent of the Missouri Company, and that it was the intention to entrap the mongrel linguist on his arrival at St. Charles. Upon hearing this, Mr. Bradbury and Mr. Nuttall set off a little after midnight, by land, got ahead of the boat as it was ascending the Missouri, before its arrival at St. Charles, and gave Pierre Dorion warning of the legal toil prepared to ensnare him. The knowing Pierre immediately landed and took to the woods, followed by his squaw laden with their papooses, and a large bundle containing their most precious effects, promising to rejoin the party some distance above St. Charles. There seemed little dependence to be placed upon promises of a loose adventurer of the kind, who was at the very time playing an evasive game with his former employers; who had already received two-thirds of his year's pay, and had his rifle on his shoulder, his family and worldly fortune at his heels, and the wild woods before him. There was no alternative, however, and it was hoped his pique against his old employers would render him faithful to his new ones.

"The party reached St. Charles in the afternoon, but the harpies of the law looked in vain for their expected prey. The boats resumed their course on the following morning, and had not proceeded far when Pierre Dorion made his appearance on shore. He was gladly taken on board, but he came without his squaw. They had quarrelled in the night; Pierre had administered the Indian discipline of the cudgel, whereupon she had taken to the woods, with their children and all their worldly goods. Pierre evidently was deeply grieved and disconcerted at the loss of his wife and his knapsack, wherefore Mr. Hunt dispatched one of the Canadian voyageurs in search of the fugitives; and the whole party, after proceeding a few miles further, encamped on an island to await his return. The Canadian rejoined the party, but without the squaw; and Pierre Dorion passed a solitary and anxious night, bitterly regretting his indiscretion in having exercised his conjugal authority so near home. Before daybreak, however, a well-

known voice reached his ears from the opposite shore. It was his repentant spouse, who had been wandering the woods all night in quest of the party, and had at length descried it by its fires. A boat was dispatched for her, the interesting family was once more united, and Mr. Hunt now flattered himself that his perplexities with Pierre Dorion were at an end.

* * * * *

"On the afternoon of the third day, January 17th, the boats touched at Charette, one of the old villages founded by the original French colonists. Here they met Daniel Boone, the renowned patriarch of Kentucky, who had kept in the advance of civilization, and on the borders of the wilderness, still leading a hunter's life, though now in his eighty-fifth year. He had but recently returned from a hunting and trapping expedition, and had brought nearly sixty beaver skins as trophies of his skill. The old man was still erect in form, strong in limb, and unflinching in spirit, and as he stood on the river bank, watching the departure of an expedition destined to traverse the wilderness to the very shores of the Pacific, very probably felt a throb of his old pioneer spirit, impelling him to shoulder his rifle and join the adventurous band. Boone flourished several years after this meeting, in a vigorous old age, the Nestor of hunters and backwoodsmen; and died, full of sylvan honor and renown, in 1818, in his ninety-second year. (4)

"The next morning early, as the party were yet encamped at the mouth of a small stream, they were visited by another of those heroes of the wilderness, one John Colter, who had accompanied Lewis and Clark in their memorable expedition. He had recently made one of those vast internal voyages so char-

4. There are conflicting statements about the birth and death of Daniel Boone. The Missouri volume of the U. S. Biographical Dictionary, Ellis' Life of Boone, Hill's Life of Boone, and Bryan's Life as published in the Missouri Historical Review all give the date of his death as September 26, 1820, and the above date, and that given in Flint's Life of Boone is not correct. Flint gives the date of his birth as 1736; the Ellis and Hill, Feb. 11, 1735, the U. S. Biog. Dictionary, Oct. 22, 1734, and Bryan August 22, 1834. The last we take to be the correct date.

acteristic of this fearless class of men, and of the immense regions over which they hold their lonely wanderings; having come from the head-waters of the Missouri to St. Louis in a small canoe.

* * * *

"Continuing their progress up the Missouri, the party encamped, on the evening of the 21st of March, in the neighborhood of a little frontier village of French creoles. Here Pierre Dorion met with some of his old comrades, with whom he had a long gossip, and returned to the camp with rumors of bloody feuds between the Osages and the Ioways, or Ayaways, Potowatomies, Sioux, and Sawkees. Blood had already been shed, and scalps been taken. A war party, three hundred strong, were prowling in the neighborhood, others might be met with higher up the river; it behooved the travellers, therefore, to be upon their guard against robbery or surprise, for an Indian war party on the march is prone to acts of outrage.

"In consequence of this report, which was subsequently confirmed by further intelligence, a guard was kept up at night around the encampment, and they all slept on their arms. As they were sixteen in number, and well supplied with weapons and ammunition, they trusted to be able to give any marauding party a warm reception. Nothing occurred, however, to molest them on their voyage, and on the 8th of April, they came in sight of Fort Osage. On their approach the flag was hoisted on the fort, and they saluted it by a discharge of firearms. Within a short distance of the fort was an Osage village, the inhabitants of which, men, women and children, thronged down to the water side to witness their landing. One of the first persons they met on the river bank was Mr. Crooks, who had been down in a boat, with nine men, from the winter encampment at Nodowa, to meet them.

"They remained at Ft. Osage a part of three days, during which they were hospitably entertained at the garrison by Lieutenant Brownson, who held a temporary command. They were regaled also with a war-feast at the village; the Osage warriors having returned from a successful forage against the

Ioways, in which they had taken seven scalps. These were paraded on poles about the village, followed by the warriors decked out in all their savage ornaments, and hideously painted as if for battle.

"By the Osage warriors, Mr. Hunt and his companions were again warned to be on their guard in ascending the river, as the Sioux tribe meant to lay in wait and attack them.

"On the 10th of April they again embarked, their party being now augmented to twenty-six, by the addition of Mr. Crooks and his boat's crew. They had not proceeded far, however, when there was a great outcry from one of the boats; it was occasioned by a little domestic discipline in the Dorion family. The squaw of the worthy interpreter, it appeared, had been so delighted with the scalp-dance, and other festivities of the Osage village, that she had taken a strong inclination to remain there. This had been as strongly opposed by her liege lord, who had compelled her to embark. The good dame had remained sulky ever since, whereupon Pierre seeing no other mode of exorcising the evil spirit out of her, and being, perhaps, a little inspired by whiskey, had resorted to the Indian remedy of the cudgel, and, before his neighbors could interfere, had belabored her so soundly that there is no record of her having shown any refractory symptoms throughout the remainder of the expedition.

"For a week they continued their voyage, exposed to almost incessant rains. The bodies of drowned buffaloes floated past them in vast numbers; many had drifted upon the shore or against the upper ends of rafts and islands. These had attracted great flights of turkey-buzzards; some were banqueting on the carcasses, others were soaring far aloft in the sky, and others were perched on the trees, with their backs to the sun, and their wings stretched out to dry, like so many vessels in harbors, spreading their sails after a shower.

"The turkey-buzzard (vulture aura, or golden vulture), when on the wing, is one of the most specious and imposing of birds. Its flight in the upper regions of the air is really

sublime, extending its immense wings, and wheeling slowly and majestically to and fro seemingly without exerting a muscle or fluttering a feather, but moving by mere volition, and sailing on the bosom of the air as a ship upon the ocean. Usurping the empyreal realm of the eagle, he assumes for a time the post and dignity of that majestic bird, and often is mistaken for him by ignorant crawlers upon earth. It is only when he descends from the clouds to pounce upon carrion that he betrays his low propensities, and reveals his caitiff character. Near at hand he is a disgusting bird, ragged in plumage, base in aspect, and of loathsome odor.

"On the 17th of April Mr. Hunt arrived with his party at the station near the Nodowa River, where the main body had been quartered during the winter.

"The weather continued rainy and ungenial for some days after Mr. Hunt's return to Nodowa; yet spring was rapidly advancing and vegetation was putting forth with all its early freshness and beauty. The snakes began to recover from their torpor and crawl forth into day, and the neighborhood of the wintering house seems to have been much infested with them. Mr. Bradbury, in the course of his botanical researches, found a surprising number in a half torpid state, under flat stones upon the banks which overhung the cantonment, and narrowly escaped being struck by a rattle-snake, which started at him from a cleft in the rock, but fortunately gave him warning by its rattle.

"The pigeons too were filling the woods in vast migratory flocks. It is almost incredible to describe the prodigious flights of these birds in the western wildernesses. They appear absolutely in clouds, and move with astonishing velocity, their wings making a whistling sound as they fly. The rapid evolutions of these flocks, wheeling and shifting suddenly as if with one mind and one impulse; the flashing changes of color they present, as their backs, their breasts, or the under part of their wings are turned to the spectator, are singularly pleasing. When they alight, if on the ground, they cover whole acres at a time; if upon trees, the branches often break be-

neath their weight. If suddenly startled while feeding in the midst of a forest, the noise they make in getting on the wing is like the roar of a cataract or the sound of distant thunder.

"A flight of this kind, like an Egyptian flight of locusts, devours everything that serves for its food as it passes along. So great were the numbers in the vicinity of the camp that Mr. Bradbury, in the course of a morning's excursion, shot nearly three hundred with a fowling-piece. He gives a curious, though apparently a faithful, account of the kind of discipline observed in these immense flocks, so that each may have a chance of picking up food. As the front ranks must meet with the greatest abundance, and the rear ranks must have scanty picking, the instant a rank finds itself the hindmost it rises in the air, flies over the whole flock, and takes its place in the advance. The next rank follows in its course, and thus the last is continually becoming first, and all by turns have a front place at the banquet.

"The rains having at length subsided, Mr. Hunt broke up the encampment and resumed his course up the Missouri.

"The party now consisted of nearly sixty persons; of whom five were partners; one, John Reed, was a clerk; forty were Canadian "voyageuers," of "engages," and there were several hunters. They embarked in four boats, one of which was of a large size, mounting a swivel and two howitzers. All were furnished with masts and sails, to be used when the wind was sufficently favorable and strong to overpower the current of the river. Such was the case for the first four or five days, when they were wafted steadily up the stream by a strong southeaster.

"Their encampments at night were often pleasant and picturesque; on some beautiful bank beneath spreading trees, which afforded them shelter and fuel. The tents were pitched, the fires made and the meals prepared by the voyageurs, and many a story was told, and joke passed, and song sung, round the evening fire. All, however, were asleep at an early hour. Some under the tents, others wrapped in blankets before the

fire, or beneath the trees; and some few in the boats and canoes.

"On the 28th they breakfasted on one of the islands which lie at the mouth of the Nebraska or Platte river, the largest tributary of the Missouri, and about six hundred miles above its confluence with the Mississippi. * * * *

They were now beyond the limits of the present state of Missouri. and we leave them to pursue their course to the Pacific coast.

At a later date, Washington Irving made a trip through Missouri, and the **Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser** had the following notice of him: (5) "Washington Irving. This gentleman arrived in Columbia on Wednesday the 19th inst. and remained here until the next day, when he resumed his journey for the Osage country. From the notice in one of the St. Louis papers, announcing his arrival there, that he was on his way to the Upper Mississippi, we did not anticipate the honor of seeing him here. His destination, however, for the present at least, is different. He expressed the greatest surprise and admiration of what he had already seen of Missouri—having previously formed different views of the country. In his manners, Mr. Irving is unostentatious, affable and gentlemanly. He will no doubt acquire a valuable fund of materials in his progress, for interesting works or sketches, which, ere long, we may have the gratification of perusing."

The fullest account of this trip given by him is in a letter to a friend in Europe, which was published in the London Athenaeum, reprinted in the New York Commercial Advertiser, and copied in the Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, and from the files of this paper in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri we copy the letter, (6) which was not included in the "Life and Letters of Washington Irving by his nephew Pierre M. Irving:"

"Washington City, Dec. 18, 1832. I arrived here a few days since, from a tour of several months, which carried me

5. Sept. 29, 1832.
6. May 11, 1833.

far to the west, beyond the bounds of civilization.

"After I wrote to you in August, from I think Niagara, I proceeded with my agreeable fellow travelers, Mr. L. and Mr. P. (7) to Buffalo, and we embarked at Black Rock on Lake Erie. On board of the steamboat was Mr. E. one of the commissioners appointed by the government to superintend the settlement of the emigrant Indian tribes to the west of the Mississippi. He was on his way to the place of rendezvous, and on his invitation, we agreed to accompany him in his expedition. The offer was too tempting to be resisted. I should have an opportunity of seeing the remnants of those great Indian tribes which are now about to disappear as independent nations, or to be amalgamated under some new form of government. I should see those fine countries of the "far west," while still in a state of pristine wilderness, and behold herds of buffaloes scouring their native prairies, before they are driven beyond the reach of a civilized tourist.

"We, accordingly, traversed the centre of Ohio, and embarked in a steamboat at Cincinnati for Louisville, in Kentucky. Thence we descended the Ohio river in another steamboat, and ascended the Mississippi to St. Louis. Our voyage was prolonged by repeatedly running aground, in consequence of the lowness of the waters, and, on the first occasion we were nearly wrecked and sent to the bottom, by encountering another steamboat coming with all the impetus of a high pressure engine, and a rapid current. Fortunately, we had time to sheer a little so as to receive the blow obliquely, which carried away part of a wheel, and all the upper works on one side of the boat.

"From St. Louis I went to Fort Jefferson, about nine miles distant, to see Black Hawk, the Indian warrior, and his fellow prisoners—a forlorn crew, emaciated and dejected—the redoubtable chieftain himself, a meagre old man upwards of seventy. He has, however, a fine head, a Roman style of face, and a prepossessing countenance.

7. Mr. Chas. Joseph Latrobe and Count de Pourtales, the former of whom published "The Rambler in North America," 2 vols., London, 1832, in which he gives a full account of this trip.

"At St. Louis we bought horses for ourselves, and a covered wagon for our baggage, tents, provisions, etc., and traveled by land to Independence, a small frontier hamlet of log houses, situated between two and three hundred miles up the Missouri, on the utmost verge of civilization. * * * *

"From Independence, we struck across the Indian country, along the line of Indian missions; and arrived, on the 8th of October, after ten or eleven days' tramp, at Fort Gibson, a frontier town in Arkansas. Our journey lay almost entirely through vast prairies, or open grassy plains, diversified occassionally by beautiful groves, and deep fertile bottoms along the streams of water. We lived in frontier and almost Indian style, camping out at nights, except when we stopped at the missionaries, scattered here and there in this vast wilderness. The weather was serene, and we encountered but one rainy night and one thunder storm, and I found sleeping in a tent a very sweet and healthy repose. It was now upwards of three weeks since I had left St. Louis, and taken to traveling on horseback, and it agreed with me admirably.

"On arriving at Fort Gibson, we found that a mounted body of rangers nearly a hundred, had set off two days before to make a wide tour to the west and south through the wild hunting countries; by way of protecting the friendly Indians, who had gone to the buffalo hunting, and to overawe the Pawnees, who are the wandering Arabs of the west and are continually on the maraud. We determined to proceed on the track of this party, escorted by a dozen or fourteen horsemen (that we might have nothing to apprehend from any straggling party of Pawnees) and with three or four Indians as guides and interpreters, including a captive Pawnee woman. A couple of Creek Indians were despatched by the commander of the fort to overtake the party of rangers, and order them to to await our coming up with them. We were now to travel in still simple and rougher style, taking as little baggage as possible, and depending on our hunting for supplies; but were to go through a country abounding with game. The finest sport we had hitherto had was an incidental wolf hunt, as

we were traversing a prairie, which was very animated and picturesque. I felt now completely launched in a savage life, and extremely excited and interested by this wild country, and the wild scenes and people by which I was surrounded. Our rangers were expert hunters, being mostly from Illinois, Tennessee, etc.

"We overtook the exploring party of mounted rangers in the course of three days, on the banks of the Arkansas; and the whole troop crossed that river on the 16th of October, some on rafts some fording. Our own immediate party had a couple of half breed Indians as servants, who understood the Indian customs. They constructed a kind of boat or raft, out of buffalo skin, on which Mr. E. and myself crossed the river and its branches, at several times, on the top of about a hundred weight of baggage—an odd mode of crossing a river a quarter of a mile wide.

"We now led a true hunting life, sleeping in the open air and living upon the produce of the chase, for we were three hundred miles beyond human habitation, and part of the time in a country hitherto unexplored.

" We got to the region of the buffaloes and wild horses; killed some of the former, and caught some of the latter. We were, moreover, on the hunting grounds of the Pawnees, the terror of that frontier; a race who scour the prairies on fleet horses, and are like the Tartars, or roving Arabs.

"We had to set guards round our camp, and tie up our horses for fear of surprise; but, though we had an occasional alarm, we passed through the country without seeing a single Pawnee. I brought off, however, the tongue of a buffalo, of my own shooting, as a trophy of my hunting, and am determined to rest my renown as a hunter upon that exploit, and never to descend to smaller game.

"We returned to Fort Gibson after a campaign of about thirty days, well seasoned by hunter's fare and hunter's life.

"From Ft. Gibson I was about five days descending the Arkansas to the Mississippi, in a steamboat a distance of

several hundred miles. I then continued down the latter river to New Orleans, where I passed some days very pleasantly.

"New Orleans is one of the most motley and amusing places in the United States; a mixture of America and Europe. The French part of the city is a counterpart of some French provincial town, and the levee or esplanade, along the river, presents the most whimsical groups of people, of all nations, casts and colors, French, Spanish, Indians, half-breeds, creoles, mulattoes, Kentuckians, etc. I passed two days with M. on his sugar plantation, just at the time when they were making sugar.

"From New Orleans I set off, on the mail stage, through Mobile, and proceeded on, through Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia, to Washington, a long and rather dreary journey, traveling frequently day and night, and much of the road through pine forests, in the winter season.

"At Columbia, the capital of South Carolina, I passed a day most cordially with our friend P. I dined also with G. H. (8) whom I had known in New York, when a young man, and who is a perfect gentleman, though somewhat a Hotspur in politics. It is really lamentable to see so fine a set of gallant fellows, as the leading Nullifiers are, so sadly in the wrong. They have just cause of complaint, and have been hardly dealt with, but they are putting themselves completely in the wrong by the mode they take to redress themselves, as a Committee of Congress is now occupied in the formation of a bill for the reduction of the tariff. I hope that such a bill may be devised and carried as will satisfy the moderate part of the Nullifiers. But I grieve to see so many elements of national prejudice, hostility and selfishness, stirring and fermenting, with activity and acrimony.

"I intended stopping but a few days at Washington, and then proceeding to New York; but I doubt now whether I shall not linger for some time. I am very pleasantly situated; I have a sunny, cheery, cosey little apartment in the immedi-

8. Governor Hamilton, probably.

ate neighborhood of Mr. ———, and take my meals at his house, and in fact make it my home. I have thus the advantage of a family circle, and that a delightful one, and the precious comfort of a little batchelor retreat and sanctum sanctorum, where I can be as lonely and independent as I please. Washington is an interesting place to see public characters, and this is an interesting crisis. Everybody, too, is so much occupied with his own or the public business, that, now that I have got through the formal visits, I can have the time pretty much to myself.

"As to the kind of pledge I gave, you are correct in your opinion. It was given in the warmth and excitement of the moment; was from my lips before I was aware of its unqualified extent, and is to be taken *cum grane salis.* It is absolutely my intention to make our country my home for the residue of my life, and the more I see of it, the more I am convinced that I can live here with more enjoyment than in Europe, but I shall certainly pay my friends in France and relations in England, a visit, in the course of another year or two, to pass joyously a season in holiday style.

"You have no idea how agreeably one can live in this country, especially one, like myself, who can change place at will, and meet friends at every turn. Politics also, which makes such a figure in the newspapers, do not enter so much as you imagine into private life—and I think there is a better one respecting them generally, in society, than there was formerly; in fact, the mode of living, the sources of quiet enjoyment, and the sphere of friendly and domestic pleasures, are improved and multiplied to a degree that would delightfully surprise you."

In the "Life and Letters of Washington Irving" there are three letters written to his sister, Mrs. Paris, from St. Louis, from Independence, and from Ft. Gibson, Ark. In the first one in addition to what he told of Black Hawk, in the letter quoted, he says "He has a small, well-formed head, with an aquiline nose, a good expression of eye; and a physician present, who is given to craniology, perceived the organ

of benevolence strongly developed, though I believe the old chieftain stands accused of many cruelties. His brother-in-law, the prophet, is a strong, stout man and much younger. He is considered the most culpable agent in fomenting the late disturbance; though I find it extremely difficult, even when so near the seat of action, to get at the right story of these feuds between the white and the red men, and my sympathies go strongly with the latter." (9)

In the second letter he wrote: "We arrived at this place day before yesterday, after nine days' travel on horseback from St. Louis. Our journey has been a very interesting one, leading us across fine prairies and through noble forests, dotted here and there by farms and log houses, at which we found rough but wholesome and abundant fare, and very civil treatment. Many parts of these prairies of the Missouri are extremely beautiful, resembling cultivated countries, embellished with parks and groves, rather than the savage rudeness of the wilderness.

"Yesterday I was out on a deer-hunt, in the vicinity of this place, which led me through some scenery that only wanted a castle, or a gentleman's seat here and there interspersed, to have equalled some of the most celebrated park scenery of England.

"The fertility of all this western country is truly astonishing. The soil is like that of a garden, and the luxuriance and beauty of the forests exceed any that I have seen. We have gradually been advancing, however, toward rougher life, and we are now at a little straggling frontier village, that has only been five years in existence. From hence, in the course of a day or two, we take our departure southwardly, and shall bid adieu to civilization, and camp at night in our tents." (10)

In the third letter there is nothing in addition to the letter quoted.

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9. Life and letters of Washington Irving, by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving. N. Y., 1895. Vol. II, p. 264.

10. Ibid, p. 266.

OLD NEWSPAPER FILES.

List of Newspaper files in the library of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia, Missouri. The list does not include the six hundred Missouri periodicals which have been regularly sent to the Society by the publishers. When known the date of beginning and ending of the newspaper is given, followed in other lines by the dates, between which the files of the Society cover. Donations are solicited of any periodicals not here given, and also of those for periods not covered by this list. For the periods given some of the files are not entirely complete, and donations of missing numbers is desired. The list does not include the College and School periodicals, nor the medical, religious, literary and other periodicals of magazine size:

Baltimore, Md.
Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser. 1791—
July 1, 1796—Dec. 13, 1796.
Boonville.
Boonville Advance, 1902-1904.
Jan. 1, 1903—April 7, 1904.
Boonville Advertiser, 1861.
Oct. 24, 1873—Dec. 27, 1878—
Sept. 19, 1884—Sept. 6, 1889.
Boonville Daily Advertiser, 1875—1877 and 1888.
Oct. 25, 1875—Oct. 24, 1877.
Sept. 12-15, 1888.
Boonville Observer, 1839—
Mch. 13, 1844—Jan. 12, 1848.
Mch. 25, 1854—Mch. 18, 1856.
Central Missourier, 1874-1907.
Oct. 22, 1874—Dec. 26, 1907.
Cooper County Democrat, 1876—
June 30, 1893, name then changed to

Missouri Democrat
July 7, 1893—Nov. 2, 1894.
Name then changed to
The Boonville, Missouri, Democrat.
Nov. 9, 1894—Oct. 16, 1896.
Name then changed to
The Missouri Democrat.
Oct. 23, 1896—July 1, 1898.
Missouri Register, 1839—
May 21, 1840—July 19, 1845.

Carrollton, Carroll County.
The Carrollton Journal, 1855—
Nov. 16, 1877—Nov. 14, 1879.

Clarksville.
The Clarksville Sentinel.
July 4, 1867—Sept. 30, 1869.

Columbia, Boone County.
The Columbia Patriot, 1835-1842.
Dec. 12, 1835.
Mch. 6, 1841-Dec. 23, 1842.
Columbia Missouri Herald, 1868-date.
April 11, 1878-date.
Missouri Statesman, 1843-date.
Jan. 6, 1843-date.
Daily Missouri Statesman, 1879.
Aug. 6- Dec. 13, 1879.
The M. S. U. Independent, 1894-date.
Mch. 3, 1894-date.

Edina, Knox County.
The Edina National, 1879—
Nov. 6, 1879-May 12, 1880.
Knox County Democrat, 1870-1905.
Jan. 17, 1874-Mch. 18, 1886.
Dec. 7, 1893-Feb. 1, 1894.
Aug. 9, 1894-Dec. 27, 1894.
Jan. 9, 1896-Aug. 17, 1905.
Name then changed to

The Edina Democrat, 1905-date.
Aug. 25, 1905-date.
The Knox County Register, 1897—
July 25, 1901-Dec. 25, 1902.
Jan. 7, 1904-Dec. 22, 1904.
The Sentinel, 1867—
Feb. 26, 1874-Mch. 1, 1883.
Pell Mell Greenbacker, 1881—
Vol. 1, 3 numbers.

Franklin.
Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser, 1819-1835.
Apr. 23, 1819-Dec. 5, 1835.
The place of publication was moved from Franklin to Fayette and from that place to Columbia.

Glenwood, Schuyler County.
Glenwood Criterion, 1870-date.
June 8, 1870-Dec. 18, 1873.
Jan. 4, 1877-May 29, 1884.
Dec. 1902-March, 1908.
Nov. 1908-March, 1910.
The National Issue, 1879.
Sept 13-Oct. 25, 1879.
(8 numbers, all issued.)

Hillsboro, Jefferson County.
Jefferson Democrat, 1865-date.
Jan. 6, 1871-date.

Jefferson City, Cole County.
Jefferson Enquirer, 1838-1841.
Name then changed to
Jefferson Inquirer, 1841-1861.
April 1841-Dec. 14, 1854.
Jan. 19, 1856-Dec. 26, 1857.
Jefferson Examiner, 1852-1862.
Sept. 14, 1852-Sept. 6, 1853.
April 24, 1858-Oct. 1, 1859.

Jeffersonian Republican, 1827-1844.
Feb. 6, 1841-Mch. 4, 1843.
May 27, 1843-Aug. 10, 1844.
The Metropolitan, 1846-1852.
Oct. 6, 1846-Sept. 26, 1848.
Oct. 23, 1849-Sept. 10, 1850.
The State Journal, 1872-1887.
Dec. 27, 1872-Dec. 31, 1880.
Daily State Journal, 1873-1887.
Sept. 9, 1873-Mch. 6, 1874.
Sept. 9, 1874-June 29, 1879.
Jan. 1, 1880-Jan. 30, 1880.
Oct. 8, 1880-June 29, 1881.
Jan. 3, 1882-June 29, 1882.
Jan. 2, 1883-June 30, 1884.
The Peoples' Tribune, 1865-1899.
Oct. 4, 1865-Dec. 26, 1883.
Name then changed to
Jefferson City Tribune.
Jan. 3, 1884-Jan. 4, 1899.
Name then changed to
Missouri State Tribune.
Jan. 11-Dec. 28, 1899.
Daily Jefferson Inquirer.
May 27, 1856-Aug. 28, 1856.
Jan. 2, 1857-June 17, 1857.
Jan. 1, 1859-Mch. 14, 1859.
Jan. 1, 1861-Jan. 28, 1861.
Jefferson City Tribune.
Jan. 1, 1905-Feb. 7, 1910.
Name then changed to
Daily Democrat-Tribune.
Feb. 8, 1910-date.

Keytesville, Chariton County.
Keytesville Herald, 1872-1878.
April 13, 1872-May 15, 1878.
Name then changed to

Chariton Courier, 1878-date.
June 7, 1878-Dec. 28, 1883.
Jan. 5, 1888-Dec. 9, 1892.
Jan. 6, 1893-Dec. 9, 1898.
July 26, 1901-date.

Lancaster, Schuyler County.
Lancaster Excelsior, 1866-date.
Mar. 15, 1866-Sept. 23, 1871.
May 2, 1902-date.

Memphis, Scotland County.
Memphis Conservative, Scotland County News, Star, National, Farmers' Union, Herald, Register and Peoples Messenger, to be bound in fifteen volumes.

Montgomery City.
Montgomery Standard, 1868-date.
Jan. 2, 1880-date.

Osceola, St. Clair County.
The Osceola Democrat, 1860-1861.
June 2-July 12, 1860.
Name changed to
The Osage Valley Star.
Nov. 8, 1860-Feb. 28, 1861.

New York, N. Y.
The Anglo-American, 1839—
Oct. 24, 1846-June 5, 1847.
National Anti-Slavery Standard, 1839—
Apr. 13, 1848-Dec. 24, 1859.
Jan. 28, 1860-Dec. 13, 1862.
Jan. 17, 1863-Dec. 16, 1865.

Platte City, Platte County.
Platte County Argus, 1883-date.
Oct. 28, 1897-date.
The Landmark, 1865-date.
March 16, 1898-Sept. 14, 1900.
Jan. 1, 1904-Jan. 5, 1906.

Parkville, Platte County.
Parkville Independent, 1884—

Dec. 16, 1897-July 6, 1899.
The Platte County Gazette, 1884—
July 13, 1899-Dec. 27, 1900.
Ravenna, Ohio.
The Western Courier, 1824—
May 12, 1827-May 3, 1828.
Name changed to
The Western Courier and Portage County Democrat.
May 5, 1836-Jan. 5, 1837.
Name then changed to
Western Courier.
Jan. 12, 1837-Apr. 27, 1837.
Richmond, Ray County.
Richmond Weekly Mirror, 1853-1858.
Feb. 18, 1853-April 21, 1855.
Sept. 11, 1857-Oct. 16, 1858.
Name then changed to
The North-West Conservator, 1859-1863.
April 5, 1861-July 7, 1864.
May 13, 1865-Dec. 22, 1866.
Richmond Weekly Mirror, 1853-date.
Feb. 18, 1853-Oct. 16, 1858.
Name changed to
The North-West Conservator.
April 5, 1861-Apr. 23, 1863.
Name changed to
The Conservator.
April 30, 1863-July 7, 1864.
Name changed to
North-West Conservator.
May 13, 1865-March 3, 1866.
Name changed to
The Conservator.
March 24, 1866-Dec. 22, 1866.
Name changed to
Richmond Conservator.
Nov. 28, 1898-date.

Rockport.
Atchison County Journal, 1862-date.
Aug. 30, 1879-Aug. 18, 1892.
Jan. 5, 1893-date.
The Atchison County Mail, 1877-date.
Oct. 18, 1883-Oct. 16, 1884.
July 25, 1885-Dec. 23, 1887.
Jan. 4, 1889-Dec. 5, 1890.
Jan. 1, 1903-date.
The Missouri Agitator, 1884-1888.
Dec. 24, 1884-July 26, 1888.
Name then changed to
The Rock Port Democrat.
Aug. 2, 1888-Dec. 29, 1888.
Atchison Democrat, 1875—
Aug. 14, 1879-June 30, 1881.
The Sun, 1876—
Jan. 12-Dec. 27, 1882.
St. Louis.
Industrial Advocate, 1866—
Aug. 4, 1866-Feb. 9, 1867.
The St. Louis Daily Times, 1866—
Jan. 1, 1876-Sept. 12, 1877.
Jan. 1-Nov. 15, 1878.
Name then changed to
St. Louis Times-Journal.
Nov. 16-Dec. 31, 1878.
Home Journal and Commercial Gazette, 1865—
Aug. 2, 1872-Oct. 25, 1873.
Name then changed to
Saint Louis Commercial Gazette.
Nov. 1, 1873-Dec. 27, 1883.
St. Louis Miller.
Dec. 6, 1878 to Dec. 22, 1883.
Salem, Dent County.
The Salem Monitor, 1867-date.
May 4, 1872-date.

Sedalia, Pettis County.
Central Missouri Sentinel.
1886-1889.
Sedalia Morning Gazette, 1888—
Dec. 16, 1888-June 1895.
Except Apr-June, 1894.
Sedalia Times.
1869-1880.
Daily Times.
Nov.-Dec. 1872.
April, 1873.
Sedalia Bazoo.
April 1, 1891-June, 1893.
Sedalia Daily Democrat.
Dec. 19, 1871—Oct. 31, 1872.
Jan. 1, 1887-June 30, 1887.
April 1, 1888-June 30, 1888.
Dec. 17, 1891-Aug. 1893.
May, 1898-Dec. 1900.
Weekly Press.
Aug. 30-Oct. 9, 1879.
Pettis County Review.
July 6-Oct. 19, 1872.
Daily Republican.
Oct. 12, 1870—
A collection of 16 other ephemeral publications issued at Sedalia.
Tarkio, Atchison County.
Atchison County World, 1888—
Jan. 1-July 16, 1903.
The Tarkio Avalanche, 1884-date.
Aug. 15, 1885-Dec. 31, 1902.
Oct. 18, 1907-date.
Troy, Lincoln County.
The Lincoln County Herald, 1865—
Dec. 28, 1866-June 4, 1873.
Name changed to

The Troy Herald.
June 18, 1873-Oct. 30, 1878.
Union, Franklin County.
Franklin County Record, 1874-1891.
Sept. 3, 1874-Sept. 8, 1887.
The Tribune, 1887-date.
June 17, 1887-Dec. 5, 1890.
Name then changed to
Tribune-Republican.
Dec. 12, 1890-Dec. 11, 1896.
Name changed to
Franklin County Tribune.
Dec. 18, 1896-date.
Warrensburg, Johnson County.
The Warrensburg Journal, 1865-1876.
June 13, 1874-Oct. 20, 1876.
Johnson Weekly Democrat, 1871-1876.
Sept. 23, 1871-Dec. 18, 1874.
Name then changed to
The Warrensburg Democrat.
Dec. 25, 1874-Apr. 14, 1876.
The Journal-Democrat, 1876-date.
Oct. 27, 1876-Dec. 29, 1882.
Jan. 1, 1892-Nov. 11, 1892.
Jan. 5, 1894-Dec. 30, 1898.
Jan. 2, 1903-date.
Weston, Platte County.
The Weston Chronicle, 1872—
Jan. 7, 1898-Dec. 28, 1900.
The Weston World, 1897—
Nov. 25, 1898-Aug. 9, 1900.
Name then changed to
Platte County World.
Aug. 16, 1900-Nov. 14, 1901.
Washington, D. C.
The Columbian Star, 1821—
Feb. 10, 1827-Nov. 29, 1828.

Missouri Editorial Association Meeting and Excursion, 1882. A bound volume containing copies of 86 Missouri newspapers with accounts of above.

The World's Newspapers. 11 volumes containing 447 representative journals of all countries and languages. furnished by U. S. Consuls to Walter Williams in 1894.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

First Paper.

The following inscriptions are on monuments erected in Woodlawn Cemetery, Jefferson City, by order of the General Assembly of Missouri:

Sacred
to the memory of
Hardy Allard
late Representative from
Wayne County, Missouri
who was born
on the 22nd Nov. 1792
and died
on the 20th Jan. 1837
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

Sacred
to the memory of
Yelverton O. Bannon
late Representative from
Madison County, Missouri
who was born in
Fauquier County, Va.

on the 26th Feb. 1794
and died
on the 31st Dec. 1831
Erected by an act of the General Assembly.

Sacred
to the memory of
Theophilus Bass,
late Representative from
Taney County, Missouri
who was born in
Columbia, Murray County, Tenn.
on the 2nd Feb. 1811
and died
on the 11th March, 1849
Erected by an act of the General Assembly.

Sacred
to the memory of
Tyrrel P. Bruton
late Representative from
Douglass Co., Mo.
Was born in Tenn.
On the 30 of Apr. 1828
Died
On the 29, of Dec. 1865
Erected by an Act of the General Assembly

In
Memory of
Peter G. Glover
Born
in
Buckingham Co. Va.
Jan. 14, 1792
Died
In Osage Co. Mo.
Oct. 27, 1851

and lies buried here
He emigrated to Kentucky
in early life
thence to Missouri
where he filled the
important Public Offices of
Justice of the County Court
Representative from Callaway
Senator from Cole
Secretary of State
Auditor of Public Accounts
Superintendent of Common Schools
and Treasurer of the State
to the satisfaction of
the People.
as a father, husband
citizen and friend
he was without reproach.
Martha
Wife of
Peter G. Glover
Born
in Buckingham Co. Va
Oct. 9, 1793
Died
Jan. 14, 1858

George W. Hampton
late Representative from
Barry County, Missouri
who was born in
Washington County, Va.
on the 18th of Jan. 1814,
and died
on the 22nd of Jan. 1860
He was a member of the Union Baptist Church
and lived the life of a sincere and devoted Christian
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

Robert Hicks
late Representative of
Douglass and Ozark
Counties
Died
Feb. 22, 1863
Aged 58 years
Erected by an act of the General Assembly of Missouri

Sacred
To the memory of
David Rice Holt, M. D.
late Representative from
Platte County, Missouri
who was born in
Green County, Tenn.
on the 8th of March, 1803
and Died
on the 7th of Dec. 1840
Erected by an act of the
General Assembly

Hon. Thomas J. Howell
Born in Smith Co. Tenn.
September 22, 1808
Died
at the City of Jefferson
March 7, 1875
Represented Oregon Co. in the 26th & 28th
General Assembly of Missouri.
Erected under an act of the General
Assembly, Approved April 30, 1879

John Hunt
late Representative from
Polk County, Missouri
who was born in
Sullivan County, Tenn.

on the 21st of March 1780
and died
on the 27th of Feb. 1847.
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

James R. McDearmon
late auditor of
Public accounts of Missouri
He was born in Prince Edward Co.
Va. on the 31st of August 1805
emigrated to Missouri in 1831
was appointed Auditor of the
Public Accounts in 1846
and died in office, having
filled it with honor to the
State and great credit to
himself on the 20th of March
1848; aged 43 years 6 mo.
20 days.
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

John McHenry
late Representative from
Bates County, Missouri;
Who was born in
Montgomery County, Ky.
on the 1st May, 1775
and died
on the 8th Jan. 1849
He was a soldier of the late
war with Great Britain and
served in several sessions of
the Legislature of Missouri.
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

John F. McKernan
born
June 15, 1827

died
Jan'y 4, 1873
Represented Cole Co. Mo
in the 25th General Assembly

Sacred
To the memory of
Wm. J. McMurtry
late Representative from
Carroll County
who was born in Moad County
Kentucky
on the 26th July 1826
and Died
February 25, 1855
Erected by provision of an
act of the General
Assembly

John Sappington Marmaduke
Born in Saline Co. Mo. March 14, 1833
Yale College three years
Harvard College one year
Graduated from West Point Military Academy
Lieutenant in the United States Army
Captain and Colonel Mo. State Guard
Brigadier General and Major General
Confederate States Army
Secretary State Board of Agriculture
Railroad Commissioner of Mo.,
and died while Governor of Missouri
December 28, 1887
He was fearless and incorruptible

Sacred
to the memory of
M. C. Martin
late Representative from

Ozark Co., Mo.
Born in Ky.
and Died
On the 15th of Feb. 1868
Aged 55 yrs
Erected by an Act of the General Assembly

Erected
by the State of
Missouri
in Honor of
Wm. G. Minor
Secretary
of the Senate
Born
in Virginia
Feb 1, 1806
Died
Feb. 20, 1851
Aged 45

Wm. G. Minor
In 1842
a member of the
Gen Assembly.
In 1848
Adjutant General
of the State
In 1851
Secretary of the
Senate

Sacred
to the memory of
John F. Powers
late Representative from
Linn Co. Mo.
Was born in Trumbull Co. Ohio

On the 28th of Oct. 1811
Died
On the 20th of Feb. 1865
Erected by an act of the General Assembly

Alexander Reid
late Representative from
Lincoln County
who was born in Kentucky
April 6, 1797
and died
January 8 1851
This pious man was a worthy elder
in the A. R. Pres. Church
Erected by an act of the General
Assembly of Missouri.

Erected
by the State of Missouri
To the memory of
Gov. Thomas Reynolds
Who died Feb. 9, 1844,
Aged 48 years
He was born in Bracken County
Kentucky, March 12, 1796
in early life he became a citizen of
the State of Illinois,
and there filled the several offices
of Clerk of the House of Representatives
Attorney General
Speaker of the House of Representatives
and Chief Justice
of the Supreme Court
In 1829
he removed to the State of Missouri
and was successively Speaker
of the House of Representatives
Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit

and Died
Governor of the State
His life was one of honor, virtue and
patriotism,
and in every situation in which he
was placel he discharged his duty
faithfully

Wm. A. Robards
Late
Attorney General
of the State of Missouri
Born in Ky.
May 3, 1817
Died
Sept. 3, 1851
Erected
by the State of Mo.
Of which he was a worthy citizen
and an able and faithful officer
having fill'd several offices
of public trust

SCOTT
Erected by the State of Missouri
through its forty third General
Assembly and the Missouri State
Bar Association to the Memory of
William Scott
Born in Warrenton, Virginia
June 7, 1804
Died in Cole County, Missouri
May 18, 1862
He was judge of the 9th judicial
Circuit from 1835 to 1841
and judge of the Supreme Court
of Missouri from 1841 to 1862
This monument is a supplement to the more

enduring one which he builded for himself by his lucid and just decisions.

Aikman Welch
Born
in Warren Co. Mo.
May 25, 1827.
Served four years in the
Mo. Legislature,
appointed Attorney
General in 1861
Was Vice President of the
State Convention of 1862
Died in Office
July 28, 1864
A Patriot and a Christian

E. W. Wells
Born
Nov. 29, 1795
Died
Sept. 22, 1861
He was appointed
Judge of U. S. District
Court of Mo. by
Gen. Jackson 1836
Which Office he
held until his death
He was appointed
Attorney Gen. for
the State of Mo
Jan. 21. 1826
Which Office he
held until
Sept. 12, 1836

The two following are from the City Cemetery, Jefferson City:

Sacred to
the memory of
Elias Barcroft
Who Died
August 26, 1851
Aged
73 years
The deceased was a member
of the Senate of Missouri in
1821 & 1822 and was Auditor
of Public Accounts for the
same State from 1824 to 1833

John Walker
late State Treasurer
Aged 65 years 7 mos
11 days
He was born in Brunswick County Va. Oct 17
1772. Emigrated to Kentucky in 1780 and from
thence to Missouri in 1818. Was elected to the
Senate from Howard County in 1828 and at
the session of 1832 & 33 was elected
State Treasurer
Which office he faithfully and creditably
filled until his death which occurred
May 26, 1838
Erected by an Act of the General Assembly of Missouri

BOOK NOTICES.

WITH PORTER IN NORTH MISSOURI.

By Joseph A. Mudd, M. D., Washington, D. C. The National Publishing Company, 1909.

The writer of this book was a Confederate soldier. He writes therefore from the Confederate standpoint, but always with a conscientious effort to be fair to the other side. He works in a fresh field. So far as the reviewer knows no one has undertaken anything on the same scale on the subject he has dealt with.

The efforts of the Southern sympathizer to take the State of Missouri out of the Union in 1861 and the winter of 1861-62 proved futile. The culminating moment of that failure came at the battle of Pea Ridge, Ark., in March, 1862. But relying on the hope that they would yet be successful the Confederate generals planned a recruiting system throughout Missouri which would bring to their depleted army in Arkansas large reinforcements and enable them to move back into the State and accomplish what had been undertaken but as yet without success.

Among those commissioned to do this recruiting was Joseph Chrisman Porter of Lewis County. He returned from Pea Ridge by April, and very shortly thereafter began his task. Dr. Mudd began his service as a soldier with Porter at this time, and remained with him until the battle of Moore's Mill, which occurred on July 28, 1862. He therefore tells the story of Porter's movements from Memphis in Scotland County to Moore's Mill in Callaway County very largely from his own personal recollections. In this part of his book

he is at his best. But after Moore's Mill, which proved disastrous to Porter, Dr. Mudd withdrew from the regiment and went to Maryland, where he completed his medical course and ultimately became a surgeon in the Confederate army in Virginia. He therefore tells the rest of the story of Porter's career from the official records printed by the Government, and from the recollections of men on both sides. This part of the work shows extensive investigation, but it is disappointing in that it is not constructive in its treatment. For example the chapter on the battle of Kirksville is composed of reminiscences of men on both sides, strung along one after the other, some of which contradict each other very radically, and of Colonel McNeil's official report. The account of the Palmyra affair, the other critical moment in Porter's career in North Missouri, is treated in very much the same way.

Notwithstanding this criticism, Dr. Mudd has rendered a valuable service to the history of the war in Missouri by his extensive efforts at collecting data and putting them in accessible form. The reviewer wishes to acknowledge his personal indebtedness to Dr. Mudd for this work, as it better enabled him to prepare an article upon a certain subject which he had already begun before he found this book.

Anecdote finds a large part in the book. Conversations between men and lengthy statements approaching the typical military harangues are also included. While we must not take these as having the authenticity of shorthand reports, we are able to catch from them the point of view of the men who were in this mighty struggle. Moreover they give a certain vivacity to the story that is not without its value and desirability.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

St. Louis the Fourth City, 1764-1909. By **Walter B. Stevens.** St. Louis-Chicago, S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1909.

In many respects this is the best history that has been published. The men and the women who made St. Louis the "Fourth City," are noticed and commemorated for their work

in that making. These men and women were of three governing nationalities—French, Spanish and American—and the combination and intermingling of these with still other elements are narrated in a pleasant style by the genial author, who is known from quite a number of other publications, and from his work in connection with the World's Fair at St. Louis, and with other organizations of that city.

It is a finely printed and bound book of 1132 pages, and a large number of plates of portraits and views of places and buildings. The twenty-nine chapters in the work trace the history of the city from its founding in 1764 to the present time, and without dealing in statistics it tells of the events and the persons which have made the city one that is the "First City" in many things as well as the "Fourth City" in population.

St. Louis One Hundred Years in a Week. Celebration of the Centennial of incorporation. October third to ninth, nineteen hundred and nine. Edited by **Walter B. Stevens.** St. Louis, [1910].

This work sketches the event that was celebrated last year, with an account of the Association which had charge of the celebration, which lasted a week and included church day, welcome day, Veiled Prophet day, municipal day, industrial day, educational and historical day, and St. Louis day. The 180 pages of the work are full of interesting and valuable information about the city, and the engravings add to the beauty of the work.

The Log of the Alton, being a narrative of the voyage of the Business Men's League to New Orleans, October 25 to 30, 1909. By **Walter B. Stevens.** St. Louis, 1909.

Mr. Stevens was well known as an official of the World's Fair at St. Louis, and as a writer, usually on subjects more or less connected with St. Louis. The above privately printed work gives an interesting account of the trip made by the Business Men's League, as a part of the water-way movement participated in by the President and his cabinet, 22 Governors

of States, and 117 Senators and Representatives. The story is an interesting one to read. The nearly three score men of St. Louis taking part in it, with their sayings and doings connected it with St. Louis; the first twenty-two pages, and the final pages are of Missouri travel; and the work is by a Missouri author, making it trebly welcome to the State Historical Society.

Laclede the Founder of St. Louis. By **Walter B. Stevens.** Compliments of the Merchants-Laclede National Bank of St. Louis.

When the banking room of the above bank was remodeled, a place of honor was make above the entrance and in this was placed a bronze bust of Laclede, executed by George Julian Zolnay. A picture of this bust, and the account of the founding of St. Louis and of its founder in the interesting and graceful style of Mr. Stevens adds a valued publication to the biography of Missourians.

St. Francois County, Missouri. Detailed financial statement of 1909, roster of county officials, statistical and other interesting information. Souvenir edition, August, nineteen ten. Compiled by **Joseph A. Lawrence,** county clerk. Farmington, [1910].

Quite a number of the county clerks issue the financial statement of the county in pamphlet form. If all of the counties would follow the example of these the county histories would be more easily and conveniently preserved. The above compiled by Mr. Lawrence contains a brief history of the county from its organization in 1821, and is illustrated by nine plates, showing the members of the county court, the various county buildings, and a view of the crowd that witnessed in 1880 the hanging of Hardin, the only one that has ever taken place in the county. The pamphlet is evidence of excellent efficiency in office of Mr. Lawrence, and we hope to have similar issues by Mr. Lawrence for years to come.

Third Annual Report of the Missouri Library Commission for the year ending December 31, 1909. Jefferson City, 1910.

The Library Commission under the efficient management of Mr. Purd B. Wright, one of the trustees of this society, and late librarian of the public library at St. Joseph, but now of Los Angeles, California, as its president, and of Miss Elizabeth B. Wales as its secretary, shows a prosperous year in the matter of traveling libraries, and legislative reference work. The statistics and condition of the various libraries of the State are given. In the notice of the library of this Society there was a mistake in crediting to Mr. Wm. Paxton of Platte City, the donation of the 2500 minutes of religious associations in Missouri.

Love in the Weaving. By **Edith Hall Orthwein,** New York, Broadway Publishing Co., 1910.

That this work is popular is shown by the fact that we have received a copy of the ninth edition. The title page has upon it "To love is ever to thirst, and to thirst is ever to pray. Thus love is prayer, and they who love best pray best." The novel is a study of Love psychology, and is an interesting contribution to amatory literature. The authoress is a resident of Kansas City, and has published a number of works, both prose and poetry.

NOTES.

NEWSPAPERS FROM. PROF. LOVE.

The shipment of files of newspapers received from Prof. James Love of Liberty, Missouri, has been partially arranged for the binding, but will not be completed until the receipt of another shipment that it to be sent.

Of Louisville papers there are five different ones, the Courier-Journal, commencing 1853.

Of several New York papers the Tribune is the fullest, commencing 1879.

The St. Louis Republican and the Missouri Democrat both are very valuable, covering the Civil War period and commencing 1856 and 1857. Of the Globe-Democrat and the Republic there are many years earlier than the files of the Society had previously.

The early St. Louis papers were especially interesting. The St. Louis Weekly News, Weekly St. Louis Intelligencer, Missouri Cascade, True Shepherd and Cascade, and St. Louis Sentinel were all in the 50's.

Many other papers are included in the donation, which is highly prized by the Society.

NEWSPAPERS FROM MR. GILLESPIE.

The Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri on a late trip obtained from Mr. James Gillespie, the editor of the Reveille at Memphis, Missouri, the following old newspapers, all of which were published in that town:

Memphis Conservative, 1869 to 1880.
Scotland County News, 1873 to 1879.
The Greenback Tribune, 1880.
The National, 1882 to 1888.
The Register, 1888 to 1890.
The Farmers' Union, 1891 to 1895.
The Herald, 1895, 1896.

The People's Messenger, 1896 to 1898.
The Semi-Weekly Star, 1901 to 1903.
The Daily Chronicle, 1902.

These had all come in regular course to the Reveille office, and their preservation by the editor, Mr. James Gillespie, shows that he had a proper appreciation of the importance of preserving the local sources of history. The Society will have these papers bound in fifteen volumes.

The April Issue of "Americana" contains an illustrated article that is of interest to Missourians from the fact that several of the officers whose portraits are given were Missourians. The article is on "Major General Frederick Steele and Staff: a resurrected photograph of the Civil War," by Edmund Frederick Steele Joy, a namesake of the general, and the photograph was taken at Little Rock, Arkansas, in December, 1864. The article has a sketch of General Steele's career, and some account of the officers under him. A great many Missourians were with Steele, and of one of them Mr. Joy says in a letter to the editor, "Col. Francis H. Manter, of the 32nd Missouri Infantry, the Chief of Staff, was an ideal soldier, a particular friend of General Steele and greatly beloved by all his associates. His untimely death on June 13, 1864, through an accident by the fall of his horse, cut short a life that gave promise of great distinction. The loss of this efficient officer was felt to be irreparable and no one else was appointed to his position on the staff so long as Steele remained in Arkansas."

Among the staff officers shown in the photograph were the following Missourians:

Lt. Col. Jabez B. Rogers, Merrill's Horse; Lt. Col. Jno. L. Chandler, 7th Missouri Cavalry; Lt. Thomas D. Witt, 1st Missouri Light Artillery; Captain James Marr, of a Missouri Battery. Col. Francis H. Manter, 32nd Missouri Infantry, is also mentioned. The Society is under obligations for a copy of the paper to the author, whose father was one of the staff officers.

This number of "Americana" is of special interest to Missourians in that in Chapter XIX of the History of the Mormon Church by Brigham H. Roberts, included in it, there is the account of the selection of Independence, Missouri, as the place where the City of Zion and the temple should stand.

Kansas City Historical Society. The "Old Settlers' Association," of Kansas City has become merged with the Kansas City Historical Society, and an effort is now being made to get 500 members, at $1.00 membership fee and $1.00 anuual dues. The board of education will give it rooms in which can be exhibited the historical relics and souvenirs to be collected by the Society.

The addresses delivered at the meetings will be compiled and published in book form. Dr. W. L. Campbell is the president, and James Anderson the secretary.

Destruction of Missouri Books. In the last number of the Review was a notice of gross vandalism in the destruction of books at the court house in Troy, Lincoln County, in which the statement was made that the books were burned. A correction of this statement was learned too late to make the correction in that number of the Review. After action by the county court in favor of the State Historical Society, the women of a church in Troy collected a car load of paper to be shipped to a paper mill, and these books, several hundred in number, and several hundred dollars in value, were dumped into this car load, and shipped to the mill to be ground up. There were two copies of a publication that has sold as high as $18.00 per copy.

Another similar case arising from the plan of raising money by collecting a car load of paper to be shipped to a paper mill happened in Oregon, Holt County. An old editor died leaving files of newspapers back into the 40's, and these old volumes of newspapers, almost certainly the only files in existence, were dumped in to be sold at a hundredth part of their real value!

Purd B. Wright, one of the trustees of this Society and for fourteen years librarian of the Public Library of St. Joseph, Missouri, has been elected librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, California.

Mr. Wright will be greatly missed in this Society, the Missouri Library Commission, and the St. Joseph library.

Gov. John P. Altgeld the late governor of Illinois, was for a time living in Missouri. In 1869 he came to Andrew County, taught school, worked on a farm and studied law. In 1872 he was admitted to the bar, and soon after was appointed City Attorney of Savannah. In 1874 he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of the County, but after ten months he resigned and went to Chicago.

Copies of the Review Wanted—For Vol. I, No. 4, Vol. II, No. 5, or Vol. III, No. 1, any other two numbers of the Review will be given. These numbers are wanted to make up complete volumes.

NECROLOGY.

MRS. SOPHRONIA AUSTIN was born near Bowling Green, Ky., February 15, 1810, and died at Carthage, Missouri, June 17, 1910, after having lived in Missouri eighty-eight years.

HON. HENRY T. KENT was a member of the House from St. Louis in the 32d General Assembly, 1883, and although a Democcrat, he refused to support several measures advocated by Col. James G. Butler, at that time Democratic boss of St. Louis, although great political pressure was brought to bear on him

He was born at Louisa Court House, Virginia, graduated from the University of Virginia in 1872, and came to St. Louis to enter upon the practice of law the same year. He

was for years president of the Civic League of St. Louis, and active in the support of movements advocated by it for civic betterment in St. Louis. He died in St. Louis, July 8, 1910.

THOMAS A. McINTYRE was born near Mexico, Audrain County, November 13, 1836, and lived in that county all his life, most of the time on the farm where he was born. He was a member of the House in the Thirty-eighth General Assembly, 1895. He died in Mexico, July 17, 1910.

RICHARD MOLLENCOTT was a member of the House in the 27th and 28th General Assemblies of Missouri, 1873 and 1875, from St. Louis, in which city he resided since 1849. He enlisted in Company H, First Missouri Regiment in April, 1861, and was mustered out as first lieutenant of Battery M in July 1865. He died in St. Louis, August 4th, aged 68 years.

HON. GEORGE C. THILENIUS was a Representative in the 40th and 41st General Assemblies of Missouri, 1899-1901 from Cape Girardeau County. He was born in Adliebsou, near Hanover, Germany, eighty-one years ago, and came to Cape Girardeau sixty-three years ago. During the Civil War he was colonel of the Missouri Home Guards, and for several terms mayor of the town. He was a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1865, and one of the signers of the ordinance of emancipation passed by it. He died July 7, and the body was cremated in St. Louis.

COL. JOHN P. TRACY was born in Wayne County, Ohio, September 18, 1836, and moved to Missouri at the age of twenty-two. During the Civil War he was a member of the Seventh Missouri, and was mustered out as first lieutenant, and afterwards was a lieutenant colonel in the Missouri militia. He was admitted to the bar in Cedar County in 1365, and in 1874 he moved to Springfield, where he was editor of the Patriot, and a Grant presidential elector. He was later editor of the Journal, the Herald and the Republican, and in 1880 was a Garfield elector. He served a term as U. S. marshal and in 1894 was elected to Congress, and in 1903 was elected

to the House of the Forty-second General Assembly of Missouri. Governor Hadley appointed him superintendent of the Federal Soldiers' Home at St. James, and he held this office at the time of his death, July 24, 1910, at his farm near Springfield, Missouri.

COL. ROBERT B. WILLIAMS died at Fayette, Missouri, July 11, 1910, and was buried with Masonic honors. He was born in Howard County, Missouri, September 8, 1841, and was educated at Central College and the State University. Commencing in 1866, he was engaged in mercantile and banking business, and was so successful in these that he was elected Treasurer of the State in 1900 and served in that office for four years.

MAJ. GEO. W. GILSON was born near Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1831, and came to Missouri as a printer in 1847. He was connected with the newspapers of St. Louis, Kansas City, and for a year with Col. Switzler in the Columbia Statesman. During the Civil War he attained the rank of Major, and after retiring from journalism he held positions in the government building and the United States Courts in St. Louis. He died in St. Louis, August 13, 1910.

CHARLES PINCKNEY VANDIVER was born in Chariton County, Missouri, December 25, 1858, and for twenty-five years labored earnestly to build up the Chariton Courier, of which he was editor, and at the head of which he carried the motto "Man was made to hustle." He always carried on an active crusade against gamblers and law breakers, and on account of this had several encounters, the last one resulting fatally, having been knocked down, trampled into unconsciousness by one John W. Cunningham, death resulting August 6, 1910. Mr. Vandiver was an active friend of the State Historical Society, and presented to it the files of his paper from its beginning in 1872 to the present time, with a break for the years 1884-5-6-7.

THE MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

N. M. TRENHOLME, Editor.

The Kirksville Meeting.

In accordance with the decision of the Society at the St. Louis meeting the spring meeting was held at Kirksville on Saturday, May 14th, 1910. Several other societies met at the same time and visitors were most hospitably welcomed and entertained by the faculty of the Kirksville Normal School. It was unfortunate, however, that in the case of our society the time seemed inopportune for a good attendance, and very few history teachers from a distance put in an appearance. This is the more to be regretted on account of the excellent and interesting program that had been provided.

The morning session began at 9 with a stimulating discussion on method by President H. A. Tucker, entitled "The Doctrine of Interest and Instruction in the Social Sciences in the High School." This address was followed by a paper on "The Use of the Library in High School History Classes" by Miss Wales of the Missouri State Library Commission. The editor was able to secure Miss Wales' manuscript and intends printing her valuable paper in the next number of this Review. An able and interesting supplement to the two formal papers was furnished by the discussion which was opened by Professor Foght of the Kirksville Normal and participated in by several of the members. The third paper presented was in the form of a talk by Dr. A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri on "New Viewpoints in Ancient History." His scholarly presentation of the present status of Ancient History and of methods of getting the most out of

its study was enjoyed by all. The last paper presented was by Mr. F. B. Smith of Savannah, Mo., entitled "What Topics in English Constitutional History are not too Difficult for Secondary School History Courses." As Mr. Smith was unable to be present this paper was read by proxy.

A very small number assembled for the afternoon session at 1:30, but those who did appear enjoyed an interesting illustrated talk on "A Pilgrimage Through Italy" by Miss Clara L. Thompson of the Mary Institute, St. Louis. The Association then turned its attention to the reports of its committees on History in High Schools and Elementary Schools. A carefully compiled report on the questionaire sent out to the High Schools of the State was presented and discussed by Prof. E. M. Violette of Kirksville and reviewed by Prof. N. M. Trenholme of the University of Missouri. There being no report as yet from Superintendent O'Rear of Boonville on the Elementary Schools the Society proceeded to the election of officers. The officers chosen were Miss Porter of St. Joseph as President, Mr. Shouse of Kansas City as Vice President, Professor Eugene Fair of Kirksville as Secretary-Treasurer, and N. M. Trenholme of Columbia as Editor. The meeting then adjourned with the hope and expectation that at St. Joseph in November there would be a large and enthusiastic attendance of history teachers.

BOOK NOTICES.

Davis, William Stearns. An outline History of the Roman Empire (44 B. C. to 378 A. D.). New York. The Macmillan Co. 1909. pp. ix, 222.

A readable narrative history of Roman imperial development in its more popular aspects. There is not a great deal of emphasis on the institutional side and causes, and results are not clearly brought out. For young readers, however, Professor Divis' book will prove helpful and attractive and will make a useful introduction to the study of medieval

history. The chapter on "The Awakening of the Empire" (Ch. III) is of particular value.

Johnson, A. H., Editor. Six Ages of European History. From A. D. 476-1878. 6 vols. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1910.

This excellent series will meet with a welcome from teachers of Medieval and Modern History as furnishing suitable collateral reading for both text-book and lecture courses in high schools and colleges. The first volume is an account of "The Dawn of Medieval Europe," covering the period from 476 to 918, and is ably written by Professor J. B. Masterman of the University of Birmingham, England. Vol. II relates to "The Central Period of the Middle Ages," 918-1273, and is by Miss Lees of Somerville College, Oxford, England. Then follows a volume by Miss Lodge of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, on "The End of the Middle Age," 1273-1453. The last three volumes are devoted to modern history and are divided as follows: Vol. IV "Europe in Renaissance and Reformation," 1453-1660, by Miss Hollings of Edgbaston College, Dublin; Vol. V "The Age of the Enlightened Despot." 1660-1739, by A. H. Johnson of All Souls' College, Oxford, the editor of the series; and Vol. VI "The Remaking of Modern Europe," 1789-1878, by A. H. Marriott of Worcester College, Oxford.

The narrative is clear and readable, and the quality well sustained so that the series as a whole has decided merit as a reference work. The Macmillan Company has put the books on the American market at a price within the reach of any high school library.

Trenholme, N. M. An Outline of English History. For use in High Schools and Colleges. (Based on Cheyney's "Short History of England"). Boston, etc. Ginn & Co. pp. xii, 122.

This is a small manual of discussion topics in which an attempt is made to organize English History along developmental lines. In addition to the ninety topics outlined, there

is a list of reference books suitable for high school libraries and a pronouncing index of English proper names. The aim of the author has evidently been to provide a convenient manual of class room preparation and discussion for teachers and students who are attempting to get as much as possible from the study of English History. The outline is divided into twelve sections, and at the end of each section are lists of review questions.

Hazen, C. D. Europe Since 1815. New York. Henry Holt & Co. 1910.

A well organized account of nineteenth century history which will be of value both as a text and reference book. Professor Hazen has performed a difficult task with skill and ability.

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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ADMINISTRATIONS OF MISSOURI GOVERNORS.

Second Paper.

GOVERNOR WILLARD PREBLE HALL.

As one of the greatest lawyers, and most servicable patriots of Missouri in the days of its need, ex-Governor Willard Preble Hall deserves a conspicuous niche in its hall of Fame. To put into concrete form the written and unwritten history of his life and character is the purpose of the writer, who shared his friendship and knew much of his inner and public life.

In his birth right he represented the best there was in New England character. As early as 1630 Nathaniel Hall and his wife, Mary, came from England to the Massachusetts Colony. From them descended the line of Stephen Halls, the last of whom was the father of Willard Hall, who married Abigail Cotton, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a descendant of John Cotton, the first noted minister of Boston. Willard graduated from Harvard in 1722, and became a distinguished pastor of a church at Hartford. His younger brother, Stephen, married Mary, daughter of Deacon William Cotton of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He graduated from Harvard in 1765, and

was a tutor therein for several years. Removing to Portland, Maine, and engaging in mercantile pursuits he became wealthy, and wielded a large influence in civic and political affairs. Then came John Hall, who married Statira Preble, the parents of the subject of this sketch.

On his paternal side, associated with the earliest history of New England settlers, were the Davises, Willards, Willeses, Cottons and others. There were in his ancestral line great jurists and publicists, such as George Eustice, Chief Justice of Louisiana, Willard Hall, a United States Judge in Delaware from 1823 to 1871, who indulged considerably in discussions of the science of government, political economy, and kindred quetsions. Isaac Parker, the distinguished Chief Justice of Massachusetts, belonged to this stock. On his maternal side, Statira Preble was daughter of Col. Esais Preble and sister of William Pitt Preble, one of the most noted Justices of the Supreme Court of Maine. John Hall, the father of the subject of this sketch, seems to have possessed rare and useful inventive genius, as he achieved an enviable reputation in mechanical science. He invented the first breech-loading gun, known as Hall's Carbine. His merits, in this line of usefulness, commended him to the Armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, where was born Willard Preble Hall, on the 9th day of May, 1820. When not attending the primary school he tinkered in the workshop, and boasted that he knew how to make a gun. He matriculated at Yale College, from which he graduated in 1839.

His elder brother, William A. Hall, preceded him to Missouri, locating in Randolph County, and became one of the ablest Circuit Judges of the State, and later a member of Congress. From him I received my license, in 1856, as an Attorney-at-Law. In 1840 Willard arrived in Missouri, and read law under his brother William; and began the practice at Sparta, then the County seat of Buchanan County. He had no fortune or recommendation other than his indomitable will, intellectual endownment, and hopefulness. Soon discerning a better field for his profession in the rising City of St. Joseph,

he located there in 1843, which ever afterward remained his home.

It is a coincidence in the careers of Hamilton R. Gamble (of whom I wrote in a recent number of this Magazine) and Willard P. Hall, that each in their comparative youth should have been made prosecuting attorney of their respective districts, and acquitted themselves with singular credit. They differed, however, in that Hall early displayed a taste and capacity for politics. In 1844 he was Presidential elector in the St. Joseph Congressional District, on the ticket headed by James K. Polk, in opposition to the great Statesman and Orator Henry Clay, the latter of whom was represented in that district by the redoubtable Col. Alexander Doniphan. The burning issue of that campaign was the annexation of Texas, the underlying incitement to which, by the Statesmen of the South, was the enlargement of slave-holding territory. Young Hall so well sustained himself in debate, with so brilliant and experienced an orator as Doniphan, as not only to greatly endear himself to his partisans, but to win the permanent admiration and friendship of Doniphan. He was rewarded by his party in 1846 with the nomination for Congress. War in the meantime had been proclaimed by the United States against Mexico. Doniphan, with a genius for military exploits, began the organization of the force, which became immortal as "Doniphan's Expedition to Mexico." Hall cast aside his campaign scrap-book, enlisted as a private under Col. Doniphan, and became a dashing trooper.

It is not hard to imagine how the occasional reports, sent in by 'Pony Express," by the army correspondent, depicting the privations and heroic fortitude of the bold band of Missourians, that like a blue ribbon stretched away over parched deserts, amid lurking bands of savage Indians, while each camping ground separated them farther and farther from home and loved ones, were more effective in winning votes for the young candidate than any speech on the hustings. When the expedition had planted the victor's flag in the Plaza of Santa

Fe, Hall at the age of twenty-six years had been elected to Congress, the news of which he received in camp.

On the occupation of the Capitol of New Mexico, General Phil Kearney, the mliitary commandant, set about the task of establishing civil government over the conquered territory. A rugged old soldier, more familiar with the sword than the pen, he turned to Col. Doniphan, an experienced, matured lawyer, as best fitted for the delicate work of constructing a Code of civil government for such a people. But, that he should have selected so young a man as Willard P. Hall from the private ranks of the army in the field as Col. Doniphan's chief collaborator was remarkable. Doubtless the suggestion came from Col. Doniphan, who was sagacious, and knew how capable and dependable was this modest soldier. Those familiar with Col. Doniphan's taste for "elegant leisure," and aversion to involved, detailed work, can well imagine that the delving into the unknown principles of Spanish law, rejecting what was most crude and obsolete, and putting into practical concrete shape a Code adapted to the customs and conditions of the little enlightened subjects of the territory, largely devolved upon Private Hall. How thoroughly and well this delicate task was performed is shown by the fact that the general provisions of that Code, during all the years of the territorial existence of New Mexico, have been its governing law, intelligently and concisely expressed, and well suited to the people subject to it. This testimony I may be permitted to give, as during my career on the federal bench I had occasion to examine and apply provisions of the Code.

The only instance that passed under my observation during the Civil war of a soldier being nominated for Congress was one of the rank of Colonel. When he received intelligence of his nomination it was on the eve of a prospective clash of arms. He stood not upon the order of his going, but telegraphed his resignation as Colonel, and without so much as delivering a valedictory to "the boys" left behind, he went "double quick" for home. Not so with private Willard P. Hall. It having been decided that General Kearney, with a

detachment of the small force assembled at Santa Fe, should undertake the hazardous expedient of striking the enemy in the province of Southern California, to be compassed by forced marches over an almost untracked wilderness, over arid, parched deserts, perilous mountain passes, beset with warlike Indian tribes whose methods of warfare and resources were unknown, Hall voluntarily attached himself to the staff of Col. St. George Cooke, and underwent all the privations and sufferings of that daring enterprise. Not until the American flag floated in triumph over that Italy of the Pacific coast, in 1847, did he return home and take his seat in Congress. He was elected to that office for three consecutive terms, volutarily retiring on March 4th, 1853.

While opportunity does not make the great man, only presenting the occasion for his development, it must be admitted that this new Congressman was admitted to a grand theater of education and inspiration. In all the splendor of their power before him were such men as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Jefferson Davis, Stephen A. Douglass, John Bell, John Minor Botts, and other great actors on the political stage. In those days were pending the Fugitive Slave Law, the Oregon Boundary, the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Wilmot Proviso, the admission of Nebraska and Kansas into the sisterhood of States; the grants of Public Lands to foster the building of railroads, and to the States to promote the cause of popualr education. While, doubtless, conscious of his innate power, Hall's modesty and keen sense of propriety, forbade meretricious display. No man ever entertained more contempt for the ways of the "bunkum" politician in Congress. He did not have printed in the Congressional Record a purported speech, wordy and senseless, punctuated with interruptions and parenthesized with applause, that was never delivered, save before a mirror, and sent out to his constituents. His was the force of action that accomplished useful results. The District and State he represented had peculiar needs to which he energetically addressed himself. Within the limits of the State was an immense domain of public lands. He recognized the wise

policy of their application to the needed development of the State. It was largely attributable to his persistent and skillfully directed efforts that large concessions of those lands were obtained for the building of railroads in the State then without such aids to its development. The cause of universal education, also, appealed to him; and he, therefore, aided in securing grants from the government of swamp, and waste lands within the State, which laid the foundation of the school fund in Missouri.

It is aside from the purpose or permissible limits of this paper to discuss the causes that led to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. But it may not be inopportune, as evidencing that Willard P. Hall was no nonentity, but a vigilant, active factor in important legislation, and that he looked deeply into the trend of pending measures before Congress, as they bore upon the interests of the great Northwest, to here note that near the close of his last term in Congress, when the Nebraska Bill was pending, he conceived that the opposition to it from certain sections, such as Texas, for instance, had for its underlying purpose a design to secure within the extreme south, at New Orleans, or Galveston, perhaps, the initial point for the construction of a national railway to the Pacific seaboard. Hall perceived the immense commercial advantage to the West and Northwest in the passage of the Nebraska bill, on which was predicated the provisions of a bill formulated by him for the construction of such railroad through that territory. In one of the last speeches made by him in Congress, he exposed what he conceived to be the insincerity of a member from Texas, in asserting that the bill would violate sacred treaty obligations with certain Indian tribes in that territory. **Inter alia,** he said:

> "I trust that the gentleman's influence may be as potential in Texas in urging a law to secure to the Indians their rights, as I fear it has been in this House to array an interest against the organization of Nebraska territory, and the protection of our people who go to

Oregon and California every year. I wish to suggest to the gentleman from Texas whether he may not have been influenced to some degree, unconsciously, to oppose this bill from considerations of this kind? If he can convince this House and the country that the territory of Nebraska shall not be organized, either at this session or any future session of Congress,—if the people of Texas can prevail upon the government of the United States to drive the Indians of Texas, the Comanches and other wild tribes, into the territory of Nebraska, it may have the effect of rendering your overland routes from Missouri and Iowa to Oregon and California so dangerous that the tide of emigration will have to pass through Texas—an object which Texas has zealously sought to accomplish for years past. In addition to that, if in the course of time a great railroad should be found necessary from this part of the continent to the shores of the Pacific, and the doctrine prevail, that all the territory west of Missouri is to be a wilderness from this day henceforth and forever, Texas being settled, the people of the country will have no alternative but to make the Pacific road terminate at Galveston or some other point in Texas—"

The spirit of Commercialism is not of recent birth, nor is it a child of Wall Street.

Hall was succeeded in Congress by Mordicai Oliver; which suggests the vicissitudes and involvements of political and social life. Oliver was an Old-line Whig, and something of a "Know Nothing;" and singularly enough he made the minority report from the Committee on Territories in opposition to the passage of the Nebraska bill, which Hall so ardently favored. He was Secretary of State under the Provisional government of Missouri; and while Hall was Governor (being a widower) he married Oliver's daughter, then a dashing belle at the State Capitol.

The issues growing out of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was the rock of offense on which Hall separated from his great political mentor, Thomas H. Benton, and became the ally of Stephen A. Douglass; who stood as the great exponent of the doctrine of local government, in that the residents of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska should be free to vote slavery into or out of their jurisdictions.

When they became free States, and the Dred Scott decision was made by the Supreme Court, the feeling between the North and the South became tense. The old Whig party, with its "rich foliage of fame" was beginning to disintegrate. Its last mighty struggle for existence was made in 1860, under the leadership of its two splendid exponents, John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, who made their last fight under the banner inscribed with the patriotic sentiment,—"The Union, the Constitution and the Enforcement of the Laws,"—names and words by which to conjure, reflecting luster upon the party's expiring life.

The red hot ploughshare of discord was also running a furrow through the hitherto close ranks of the Democratic party. This resulted in the withdrawal from the National Convention at Baltimore of the ultra southern wing of the party, which nominated John C. Breckenridge for President,—the regular organization nominating Stephen A. Douglass for President. So that it came to pass that the followers of Douglass, in that campaign, became the fervent advocates of an indissoluble Union, while the Breckenridge wing were charged with disunion sentiments. Hall stood by Douglass. And when the great crisis of 1861 came he aligned himself with the Union men of the State and Nation. Doubtless there was in his ancestral strain that which recalled the heroes of Lexington and Breed Heights, and the glorious memories perpetuated by Bunker Hill monument. But he was instinct, also, with practical, good sense. He told the slave owner that the first secession gun fired at the Nation's flag would echo the freedom of every slave in Missouri; that the State had never asked anything, within reason, from the general government that had

not been granted: that, in fact, she had been the petted child of the Union, and was bound to it by every consideration of gratitude and interest. To vindicate her loyalty he quit his law office and came out of political retirement, and went as a delegate to the memorable convention called by the Legislature to determine the relations of the State to the Federal Union.

It is not too much to say that there were no greater factors in directing the course of that Convention, and keeping the State firmly to her Constitutional moorings in the Union, than the two brothers, William A. and Willard P. Hall. They resided in slave holding communities, with strong Southern attachments. William A. Hall had for many years presided as Circuit Judge over one of the wealthiest and most intelligent districts in the State. He was revered by the lawyers, and regarded as a tribune of the people. He had just been elected, as a Democrat, to Congress. Willard P. Hall was yet the idol of his party and the overshadowing lawyer of the northwest part of the State. A flag of secession unfurled by them would have been like the trumpet call to arms of Rhoderic Dhu to his clansmen. But when their voices were lifted, clear and strong, for the Union, it was an influence hard to overcome. They were great men. In rugged force, strong mentality, staid judgment, and deep, earnest conviction, William A. Hall must be accorded the premiership. Willard was more scholarly, acute and analytical, more dynamic, aggressive and magnetic; and in the fence and foil of debate he was masterful.

Like Hamilton R. Gamble, who was regarded as the Sage of the Convention, the Halls made no set speeches, dealing in mere political history, or speculative abstractions. But, at times, they actively participated in the discussion of pending, important measures demanding affirmative action; and then with such force, directness and energy as to invariably enlist attention and command consideration. No one not conversant, from having been in contact with it, can at this distance of time, fully realize what it was for men in the position of Hall to stand immovable for the Union. To be charged with abolition tendencies, and aiding Lincoln in an attempt to "coerce a

Sovereign State," were frightful bogies to be encountered. This outcry scared some strong men into flight or indecision. All manner of abstract questions intended to embarrass the opposers of secession, were persistently presented to be voted on, to make a record by those who thought more of their political future than of country. Willard P. Hall never lost his equilibrium, or swerved one hair's breadth from what he conceived to be the one great, paramount end, the preservation of the Union under the federal Constitution. Deceit and concealment were an unknown art to him; and there was not one pulse of moral cowardice in his heart.

So when the Convention resolved to adhere to the Union, and it was confronted with the situation of the State being abandoned by Geovernor Claib Jackson and his cabinet, the legislature dissolved, civil government superseded by military authority, he did not hesitate to affirm, under what he conceived to be plenary power under the legislative act calling the Convention into existence, that it was the patriotic, solemn duty of the body to provide for a Provisional government. And when he went about this delicate work he did not balk with the timerous, nor take counsel of political expediency; but resolutely espoused such measures as in his judgment would make civil government in the State effective and sure. Had a few men of like commanding influence in the Convention at this crisis faltered or tacked, the Convention would have vanished into smoke, and the bayonet and the Provost guard would have dominated the State until the war ended.

When the Convention came to the selection of a Governor, best qualified for such responsible position in such a juncture, there were no two opinions among the conservative men of that body as to his name. It was Hamilton R. Gamble. I feel, at this remote day, that I violate no State secret, nor detract aught from the splendid moral courage, self reliance, or conscious capacity of Governor Gamble, in saying that because of his wasting strength, he was extremely adverse to subjecting it to the still greater strain of undertaking the tremendous responsibilities of the office. He, therefore, insisted, as a condi-

tion to its acceptance, that Willard P. Hall should be selected as Lieutenant Governor. His wise head forsaw that whether sick or well, present or absent, the Provisional Government would meet with tempestuous seas testing every stanchion in the ship of State. Of all the men of the Convention, possessing the mental and moral force to take the helm in the probable hour of need, Willard P. Hall was preeminent. Throughout the incumbency of Governor Gamble, the Lieutenant Governor was the sure staff on which he leaned. On the death of Governor Gamble, January 30th, 1864, Hall succeeded him, and filled the office for the unexpired term. That the blessings of civil government , wisely and efficiently administered, were vouchsafed to the people of the State during the stormy scence through which they passed must be largely credited to Governor Hall.

At the close of his term the office of United States District Judge for the Western District of Missouri became vacant, through the death of Judge Wells. Abraham Lincoln and Hall were colleagues in Congress, and though differing in politics they were attracted to each other by their noble virtues. In 1858, when Lincoln's fame became national, by reason of the memorable debates between him and Stephen A. Douglas, he was induced to visit Ellwood, Kansas, opposite St. Joseph, Missouri, to address the people. Among his attentive listeners was Willard P. Hall. Pressing through the crowd Hall shook his hand, and urged him to accept the hospitality of his home, which Lincoln, with equal cordiality, accepted. This courtesy Lincoln never forgot. Recognizing Hall's eminent legal attainments, his judicial temper, and the great service he had rendered Missouri and the Republic during the war, he expressed a strong desire to ask him to accept the appointment to said vacancy on the federal bench. But partisan feeling ran high in the State; and those having "the pull" in the Republican party wanted the patronage. Mr. Lincoln, with undisguised reluctance, yielded to this clamor, and gave the office to Arnold Krekel. No injustice is done to the dead in saying that the baneful influence of intensified partisanism, as it touches

the judicial branch of the government, was never more exemplified than in thus losing to the bench such a lawyer and such a man as Governor Hall. He was fitted to sit upon the Supreme Bench of the Nation, and would have been the peer of any Justice of the period.

Ever afterward he declined the use of his name for any office. His special adaptation was the practice of law, and on that pedestal stands the real monument of his fame. I but express the concensus of opinion among those in position to know in saying that in the essential qualities that make up the useful and complete lawyer Governor Hall had no superior in the State in the days of his professional activity. In clearness of perception of applicable law he was remarkable. In argument he wasted no time in generalties or abstractions. With no thought of self, or care for display, he went directly at the knot in the case in hand; and with concise logic and excellent diction he left no doubt as to his meaning in the mind of court or jury. He essayed not the spell of the orator; but there was a nervous energy and sincerity of manner in his speech that carried conviction.

With Finch he believed that "all the sciences are raked up from the ashes of the law"; and with Coke that "all this new corn cometh from the old fields"; that the underlying principle being understood, the law is flexible enough to meet all the new conditions of modern commercial development and the progress of civilization. In the preparation of his argument before the Supreme Court of the State in St. Louis vs. Gaslight Company, 70 Mo. 69, (in which I was opposing counsel) he dug up from the musty volumes of Bacon's Abridgement of the Laws, the postulate that a court of equity would not specifically enforce a contract to arbitrate; and on that he cast his line of battle. We met him with the argument that the rule invoked had its exception in the case of a unilateral contract, of which the case at bar was an instance. And had this exception then been recognized as by more recent decisions, the decision of that case should mave been in favor of the city. But the Court stood by precedent as then most recognized.

If the capacity for taking infinite pains be indicative of Genius, Governor Hall possessed it in rare degree. I was much impressed with the unusual force, terseness and diction of his argument in the case above mentioned. There was not an expletive or repetition in it. The explanation of this marked characteristic of his greatest arguments before the higher courts, I afterwards learned, was his habit of committing to writing the complete speech, and, from a cultivated memory, delivering it exactly as prepared. By this habit he was clear and correct in statement, avoiding desultory digression, confusing parentheses, wasted time on inconsequential details, and, better still, of not wearying the Court with "damnable reiteration". He was so self possessed and mentally poised that no interjected interruption, by Court or opposing counsel, deflected or diverted him from the projected line of presentation.

He was an intellectual aristocrat. The methods of the trickster, and the pretensions of the charlatan were his aversion. Anything that smacked of demagogy and cant he regarded as mental prostitution and moral degradation. The prejudice which is the offspring of ignorance, the public feeling that is the ebullition of emotion,—the impulse of sickly sentimentality—"the froth on the currents of mere passion," he challenged and defied, whenever and wherever encountered. In the days of his full powers he would not sacrifice his convictions of right and duty for any reward of popular applause.

Nothing seemed so much to arouse the intensity of his feelings and the energy of his intellect as that character of legislation and narrow prejudice that in its zeal tends to undermine the rights of person and property, whether of a natural or artificial person, by disregarding the fundamental principles that lie at the base of organized society and constitutional government. Both in private and public he enveighed against all such tendencies with a boldness and eloquence that made him a terror to the demagogue and the agrarian. Yet, there was not in his nature one atom of austerity or asceticism. He was intellectually and morally honest, and insisted that this is a

government of law and not of will, and that liberty, property and life should not be at the caprice of evanescent opinion or blind prejudice.

To him can well be applied the sentiment uttered by Edward Everett:

"An earthly immortality belongs to a great and good character. History embalms it; it lives in its moral influence, in its authority, in its example, in the memory of the words and deeds in which it was manifested; and as every age adds to the illustration of its efficiency it may chance to be the best understood by remote posterity."

At night, in the midst of a terrible snow storm, in the winter of 1881, he arrived by railroad at St. Joseph. There was neither public nor private conveyance obtainable to take him to his home. While prudence dictated that he should not attempt to brave such a tempest his indomitable will brooked no denial. The physical struggle proved too great for his strength, and he was prostrated. Rest, travel, the best of nursing and medical skill failed to restore him. His vitality was sapped. On the 2nd day of November, 1882, at his home, he passed away. He lies buried by the side of his deceased children in Mount Mareh near St. Joseph, Missouri.

If renown should rest on character rather than reputation, and honors on worth rather than pretension, this man earned an imperishable monument.

JNO. F. PHILIPS.

Kansas City, Mo.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE FIRST CATHOLIC MISSION WORK IN CENTRAL MISSOURI.

Among the early settlers in Central Missouri were a great many Catholics from different places in Europe, also a great many Germans. In all their hard struggles and labors to bring about the first fruits of cultivation, they forgot not their religion, in which they had been instructed and raised in the old country. Therefore they wanted to have a priest, who would preach to them, instruct their children, administer to them the Holy Sacraments and prepare them for the last journey. It is to the honor of the Order of Jesuits, that they were the first priests who followed these poor settlers in the mountains and woods of a region that was yet a wilderness and bore all the hardships and privations of the pioneers. Very early the Jesuit Fathers had a house and college in St. Louis on 9th street and Washington avenue, also a house in St. Charles and in Washington, Missouri.

It was in the year 1838 on the 11th of May, when Reverend Father Ferdinand Benedictus Maria Gislenus Helias S. J. came to Westphalia in Osage County (at that time it belonged yet to Gasconade County) to establish his residence there. On the next day he crossed the Osage river and said Mass in a private house near the place where now is the Catholic Church at Taos. Father Helias was not the first priest who came to this neighborhood; already the year before a secular priest (Rev. Father Meickmann from the Rhine Province in Germany had been here, and baptized several persons, but he was not to stay.) He was ordained in Germany for the Northern Missions there, but came over to America with the Dohmen family, as their family chaplain. Father Meickmann left from here for Indiana, and died in Spencer County, Indiana.

From the year 1838 to 1842 Father Helias, as the people usually call him, had his residence at Westphalia, but his life

was that of a missionary, who had to travel from one place to another, so that he was most of the time absent. His first baptism recorded in the book is on the 26th of May, 1838, in Jefferson City, of Edmund Doherty, son of Andrew Doherty. In the year 1842 he changed his residence from Westphalia to Taos in Cole County, about eight miles east of Jefferson City. Many readers may never have heard of this place, and since some years it is not even found in Uncle Sam's Postal Guide, because the Post Office is discontinued, as we receive our mail by Rural Route No. 3 from Jefferson City. Still for many years this little place was the center of Catholic Mission Work in Central Missouri.

Father Helias visited from here regularly about twenty-four places, those in the next neighborhood every month, others twice a year. These places were:

1. Jefferson City; Mass was said and the Holy Sacraments admininstered in the house of Gerard Anthony Kramer, near the Capitol.
2. Cedron, at that time called Moniteau.
3. Pisgah; in the house of John Fay.
4. Boonville; Catholic families, Anthony Fox and John Lynch.
5. Pilot Grove; Anthony Remsperger, a shoemaker.
6. Franklin; Mathias Simon, a saddler.
7. Rocheport.
8. Columbia; L. Lynch.
9. Portland and Hancock Prairie.
10. Cote sans Dessein, since carried away by the Missouri river.
11. Bailey's Creek, Gasconade County.
12. Loose Creek. (1)
13. Westphalia. (1)
14. Richfountain. (1)
15. Koeltztown. (1)
16. St. Thomas, Cole County.
17. An American colony near Gasconade; Brothers Reed.

1. All flourishing congregations in Osage County.

18. A German colony in Pettis County in the house of a familyBruehl. Other places where Mass was celebrated were private houses, which would be very difficult to find out now, as he visited these places alone, and the people did not know where he was.

In the year 1838 on the 14th of October, Bishop Rosati had come from St. Louis to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation in Westphalia, certainly a hard trip at that time. Again the bishop came to Taos to confirm in 1845. Among those confirmed we find names of families known yet, as: Schneider, Thessen, Kolb, Wolken, Hoffmeyer, Laux, Schwaller, Hoecker, Schell, Roecker, Ihler, Schulte, Neumeyer, Prenger, Rakers, Kerperin, Nieters, Bekel, Motschmann, Sanning, Rohling, Hermann, Schnieders.

By all his work and traveling Father Helias did not forget to learn to know his flock, therefore he took a full census of the places he visited besides his records of baptisms, marriages, burials, etc. In the year 1839 on the first of April the following Catholic families were recorded in Westphalia: Bernard Bruns, Doctor of Medicine; Geisberg, Brockman, Ottens, Grammatica, Walters, Schmitz, Otto, Debeis, Eppenhoff, Oldenlehre, Huber, Nacke, Bartmann, Eck, Knueve, Sellerhoff, Juchmann, Bose, Hagenboeck, Boessen, Linnemann, Eckmeier, Kolks, Vennewald, Lueckenhoff, Meierpeter, Scheulen, Krekel, Dohmen, Stiefermann, Goetzen, Artz, Brockerhoff, Kern, Wilhaupt, Schwartze, Hasslag, Holtermann, Sudhoff, Borgmann, Kuess.

In the same year, 1839, were recorded in Jefferson City the following families: Schater, Kolkmeyer, Richters, Hart, Whitnell, Hannen, Buz, Kramer, Tellmann, Monagan, Ryan, Gilmar, Corker, Bauerdick, Brand, Doherty.

It may be of interest to some to know the first settlers of other stations. In Loose Creek were living in 1839 the families of Monnier, Valentin, Cordonier, Brichaud, Besson, Saulnier, Stoffen, Farrell, Reed, Burbus.

In French Village: Peter Goujon, Louis Goujon, Angelica

Mercer, widow; Gleizar, Picqueur, Vincennes, Denoyer, Luison, Leblanc.

In Cote sans Dessein: Roye, Faye, Arnould, Nicholas, Renaud.

In Bailey's Creek: Logsdon, Simon, Welch, Howard, Folgs, Serpentin, Miller, Heth.

In Portland; Priestly Gill: in Hancock Prairie; Joseph Shannon, Thomas Flud, Anna Catharina, widow of John Preis: in Columbia; Lynch and Kitt: in Boonville; Fuchs, Weber, Fis, Pecht, Foy, Morey, Dr. Heart, Rockwie, Briel: in New Franklin; Matthias Simon.

Of course all these places were small, each for itself, but altogether numbered many Catholics, which is proved by the fact that in one year, 1843, not less than 120 baptisms were recorded. Should we count for one baptism thirty Catholic people on the average, that would mean, that 3,600 Catholics were under his care. Indeed a great number in such distance for one priest. His visits to the different places so far distant were certainly very hard in those times, when the roads were bad, and only few houses. The compass and special marks as trees, etc., had to guide his way. Sick calls were frequent and far. It is said that Father Helias many a night slept in the woods, using his saddle for a pillow. The means for his support were very scarce. The people, all new settlers, were poor. Every family should contribute $2.00 a year, but a great many did not pay anything. Father Helias was of a noble family d'Huddeghem of Ghent in Belgium. He was a special friend and countryman of Father DeSmet, the celebrated missionary among the Indians in the West in those days, and of the General of the Jesuits in Rome, Father Roothaan. Father DeSmet came sometimes to Taos to see his friend. I have a book of "The Travels to the Rocky Mountains" by Father DeSmet, which the latter and Father Helias together presented to a friend in Taos as a remembrance, in which Father Helias calls Father DeSmet his comrade and brother, and in which he states that they both left together St. Louis on April 4, 1838. This first visit was only to look

over the place, when he also blessed in Westphalia the marriage of Gerard Henry Aufderheide with Anna Mary Schlauermann on April 30, 1838, the first marriage entered in the book.

Father Helias got some assistance from his family in Europe, for instance he built the greater part of the priest house in Taos with the money furnished by his mother, for which we have to say annually a Mass for the repose of her soul. His income all together was not much, as the books show. He as a member of a religious order had made the vow of poverty, and he remained in poverty all his lifetime. For dinner, when he was at home, he went to a neighboring family, Eck, (the second husband of the lady was Beckhart); breakfast and supper he took at home for himself. He lived always alone, he had no housekeeping.

Father Helias traveled most on horseback, where possible on steamer up and down the Missouri river. Besides all his work Father Helias was intent to embelish the Church of his residence in Taos. His friendship with the General of the Jesuits in Rome gave him the opportunity to procure fine old paintings, real works of art, from Rome. Most important are the paintings now used as centerpieces on our altars; Christ on the Flagellation Pillar, full length on the main altar, a work of the sixteenth century; and two half lengths on the side altars. St. Francis Xavier, to whom our church is dedicated, and St. Francis of Assisi (both looking up into heaven in ecstacy). Both pieces are companions taken from some old altar, and were declared originals of Guido Reni by Hoffmann of St. Louis, who has restored them.

As the pioneers of that time were of different nations, it was well that Father Helias spoke several languages, as French, English, German, Flemish, besides Latin, which latter every Catholic priest has to know. Although he could seldom stay at home, he did not neglect the instruction of the children, so he started a Catholic school in Taos, and appointed a male teached by the name of Meyer, who died here. So the Catholics only follow their old tradition when they establish

and support their own schools, elementary and higher, though they have to pay taxes at the same time for the public schools. With the church was also connected a graveyard for the Catholics at every Station or Mission. At every place was a book, in which the burials, many of course in the absence of the pastor, had to be recorded. These records of burial are lost.

The records of baptisms and marriages were not kept separately for each place, but entered in the common books at the return from a mission. The number of marriages were in 1838, 3; in 1839, 8; in 1840, 13; in 1841, 16; in 1842, 7; in 1843, 22; in 1844, 26; in 1845, 23; in 1846, 16; in 1847, when Westphalia had its own priest for Osage County, 12. The number of baptisms were, in 1837, 2; in 1838, 20, two of these yet by Father Meickmann; in 1839, 35; in 1840, 33; in 1841, 60; in 1842, 54; in 1843, 120; in 1844, 75; in 1846, 108; in 1847, 39.

From this we can see how the country was growing, until at last the work was too much for one priest. The first relief came to Father Helias when on December 19, 1846, Father J. Koetting came to Westphalia to take charge of the congregations in Osage County: Westphalia, Loose Creek, Richfountain, Koeltztown; and St. Thomas in Cole County. He stayed to July, 1848, when he was called by his superiors to another place; he died only a few years ago. He was followed by Father Ehrensberger. As the work grew ever more, to him were sent several assistants, always one at a time, as the Reverend Father John Bapt. Goeldin, Franz Xavier Kalcher and Martin Seisl, all of the Society of Jesus. From October, 1856, Father A. Eisvogel, S. J., was pastor in Westphalia, where he died in 1860. His assistants were first Father N. Buschots, then Father H. van Mierlo, and lastly Father G. C. Bruehl, all of the same order. Since April, 1861, Father J. B. Goeldin was pastor; his first assistant was Father Wm. Niederkorn, the other Father P. M. Grietens, who was afterwards sent to Washington, Missouri, whence he returned to Belgium. Other assistants in Westphalia were Reverend Father Peter Paul von Haza Radlitz, S. J., and Frederick Hagemann, who was

later pastor of St. Joseph's Church in St. Louis, and then Master of Novices in Florissant, St. Louis County. Reverend Father Wm. Niederkorn, S. J., was appointed pastor in September, 1861, with the assistants Father Michael Haering, S. J., and Father Martin Seisl. The latter became afterwards pastor in Washington, Missouri, where he built that new splendid church. From September, 1881, to September, 1883, had the office of pastor Father Peter Krier, S. J.; he was assisted by Father Ganzer and Father Francis Valazza, S. J. the latter is now pastor of St. Joseph's Church in St. Louis. This work was too much for the Jesuit Fathers, as ever more priests were required. Therefore they gave up one congregation after another and secular priests took their place. Thus Reverend Father F. A. Diepenbrock was the first secular priest who took charge of the congregation in Westphalia in September, 1883, and he is staying there to the present day.

After Westphalia and Osage County were taken off, Father Helias kept the other places until the 18th of January, 1849. To Loose Creek in Osage County came as pastor Father J. P. Buschots, S. J., and held his place to November, 1865. He was followed by Father Wm. Niederkorn from March, 1866, to September, 1871; by him the new brick church in Loose Creek was built. Father von Haza Radlitz was appointed pastor in September, 1871; in December, 1881, Father P. A. Krier, S. J., took his place and remained to September, 1885. He built the fine priest's residence of solid limestone. In September, 1885, Father Franz Braun, S. J., came to Loose Creek to arrange matters to give over the congregation to a secular priest. He wrote a book on the history of the Catholic Missions in Central Missouri, which so far is not published. The first secular priest was Father John Gruender, who had been in Taos after the death of Father Helias. He died at Loose Creek March 29, 1909; his successor is Father John Bachmeyer to the present day.

The records in the Chancery of the Diocese kept in St. Louis state that as early as 1831 a Jesuit Father Felix L. Verreydt came over from St. Charles to say the first Mass in

Jefferson City, and again it was visited a second time by a Jesuit Father (name not given) in 1836. Probably there may have been another Father visiting in the intervening period. The first residing priest in Jefferson City was Father James S. Murphy, like his successor, a secular priest. He had come from Ireland and was sent to Jefferson City by Archbishop P. R. Kendrick in July, 1846, and remained until December, 1848, when he was transferred to Lexington, Missouri. On account of the troubles of the Know-Nothingism in the 50's he returned to Dublin and died as chaplain in a convent in that city. His successor Father Joseph Meister came to Jefferson City in March, 1849, as pastor of St. Peter's Church and remained to the end of August, 1853. Then followed for a short while Reverend Joseph Blaarer, a native of Switzerland like his predecessor, from October, 1853, to the end of May, 1854, when he returned to Europe. The next pastor was Reverend Wm. Walsh who had come from Ireland. He had charge of the parish from July, 1854, until January, 1863. Under his pastorate the Missouri Pacific Railroad was built and Father Walsh took care of the welfare of the souls of the laborers on that road. From January, 1863, Reverend Jacob Meller officiated as pastor to March, 1875, whence he was transferred to St. Charles and finally returned to the Rhine Province in Germany where he was born. His successor was Father Henry Meurs, who after having founded the parish of Glasgow and having been pastor in Boonville, stayed in Jefferson City from March, 1875, for nearly one year and a half, when he died there. His remains have the honor to rest in the church before the high altar. Then came the best known, Reverend O. J. S. Hoog, who remained the longest time and worked most successfully. Under him the beautiful new brick church, pastorate and school house were erected and the congregation increased fast in numbers. He arrived in September, 1876, and held this charge to 1904, when he was made Vicar General by Most Reverend Archbishop Glennon and appointed pastor of the church of "Our Lady of Perpetual Succor" in St.

Louis, where he resides now. (x) The present pastor of Jefferson City is Father Joseph Selinger, D. D., who had been for a while assistant to Father Hoog, was then Professor of Dogmatics in St. Francis Seminary near Milwaukee, and came back as pastor in Jefferson City to succeed Father Hoog.

At present there are thus many flourishing Catholic congregations with their residing priests, which formerly were stations of Taos. Many of these daughter churches have outgrown the mother church in number and importance. Taos is to the present day only a country congregation, yet it keeps as remembrance, the oldest records of all the churches named.

I had the good luck to get a good old small portrait of Father Helias from the old lady to whom he went for dinner. This portrait I have enlarged. It shows a very venerable man, with kind looks, but strong characteristic features. His figure was tall, slender, his face long and thin, his eyes penetrating. He was known and liked both by Catholics and non-Catholics. All who knew him, speak of him yet with highest esteem. The Knights of Columbus of Jefferson City call their branch after him, and have his portrait in their hall.

Father Helias had a strong constitution which allowed him to continue his labors for many years. Born in Ghent in Belgium on August 3, 1796, he was about forty-two years of age when he came in May, 1838, to Westphalia. He died August 11th, 1874, at the age of 78 years. He died suddenly by apoplexy as he had expected, and was prepared for it. He was found near his residence in the yard lying dead, his pipe beside him, in the morning about ten o'clock. A singular fact proved that death did not come to him unaware. He had written with his own hand the remembrance of his death in German, English and Flemish, and had distributed them amonng his people and to his special friends, telling them to add the date after his death. The text in Flemish is:

"Bid voor de Ziele van P. Ferdinand Benedictus Maria Gislenus Helias, S. J., missionarius. Geboren te Gent den 3.

x. Just now transferred to St. Peter and Paul's church in place of the celebrated Rev. Father Giller, who died lately.

Aug. 1796, sterft in America in vollc overgering aen den wil Gods. (den 11. Aug., 1874. R. I. P.) Ziet toe, waekt en bidt, want gy weet niet, wanneer den tyd kommen zal. Mar. 13. 33. (1)

He found his resting place amongst his flock, as had been his desire, in the graveyard near the Catholic church in Taos. The congregation honored his memory by a monument. An obelisk crowned with a cross marks the place where he awaits the glorious resurrection together with his grateful people, for which he prayed and worked so much. He has sown the good seed with tears, others now reap the fruits with joy.

After the death of Father Helias came as pastor to Taos Reverend John Gruender, a secular priest. He was born in Dringenberg in Prussia September 2, 1842, came to America in December, 1864, was ordained priest the 19th of July, 1866, in St. Louis, and had been pastor in Germantown, Henry County, then in Koeltztown, Osage County, whence he came to Taos. Here he stayed to December, 1885, when he followed the Jesuits in Loose Creek, Osage County, where he died last year, as has been said before. Father Helias in his last years had been old and weak, so Father Gruender as a young man brought new life into the parish. He built a new school house, improved the priest's house and built a new larger brick church.

His successor is the writer of this article, who was born as son of an elementary teacher in Ramsdorf in Westphalia, Prussia, December 16, 1845, studied in Muenster, and came to America in September, 1869. He continued his studies with the Sulpician Fathers in Baltimore, was ordained December 17, 1870, by Bishop Baltes in Alton, and had located in Franklin, Cape Girardeau, and St. Genevieve Counties before he

1. Pray for the soul of Father Ferdinand Benedictus Maria Gislenus Helias, S. J., a missionary. Born in Ghent, August 3, 1796, died in America on full submission to the will of God (August 11, 1874). May he rest in peace! Take ye heed, watch and pray, for ye know not, when the time will come. Mark 13:33.

came to his present charge in 1885. He is only the third pastor in Taos since 1838.

JOSEPH H. SCHMIDT.

Father Joseph H. Schmidt, since writing the foregoing article has contributed the following note:

'The following notice was found in the book in Westphalia written by the own hand of Rev. Father Helias S. J. in Latin:

"Ab initio fundationis Missions Missourianae S. J., Centralis Comitatus Osage non ita nuncupabatur, sed Comitatus Gasconade, et in se continebat utrumque comitatum et partem aliorum Comitatum. Sub antiquo Regimine Hispanorum et Gallorum Districtus iste nuncupabatur Parochia St. Josephi et continebat omnes Comitatus in utraque Missourii ripa sitos in Centro Status istius. Caput istius jurisdictionis, in quo et Judex et Registrator publicus degebat, erat 'Cole-sans-dessein', oppidum jam Missourii undis submersum, illic et Terra pro Ecclesia et Caemeterium cum Cruce ferrea jam consecratum a Catholicis istisce Guberniis donata meo primo adventu reperiri poterat. Nunc paucissimae familiae Catholicae omnino neglectae reperiuntur.

This is in English:

"From the beginning of the establishment of the Central Missouri Mission of the Jesuits Osage County was not called by that name, but Gasconade County, and included both Counties and a part of other Counties. Under the old Spanish and French Government that District was called 'St. Joseph's Parish' and contained all the Counties on both sides of the Missouri river in the center of that State. The seat of the Administration, where also the Judge and public Registar were living, was 'Cote-sans-dessein', a town which has been overflowed by the waters of the Missouri; where also the land for the Church, and the consecrated Graveyard with the iron cross, granted by those Catholic Governments could yet be found at the time of my first visit. Now there are found very few Catholic families, who are not cared for at all."

It must be confessed that this establishment of a parish west of St. Charles before the Purchase is not mentioned in other accounts, nor are there evidences of settlement in Central Missouri at such an early date. Until further evidence is forthcoming it must be assumed that so much of Father Helias' note rested on local tradition.

THE BATTLE OF KIRKSVILLE.
AUGUST 6, 1862.

In order to understand the significance of the battle of Kirksville it is necessary to give in brief outline the general situation in the state from the outbreak of the war to the day of the engagement.

In the election of 1860, Missouri cast her electoral votes for Douglas for President, but elected Jackson, a southern rights man as Governor, and Reynolds, another southern rights man as Lieutenant Governor. The Legislature elected at this time met in January, 1861, and through a combination made between the Douglas men and the southern rights men, a Speaker was elected who agreed with the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor in politics. During January and February of that year six southern states followed South Carolina in seceding from the Union. Under the influence of these acts of secession the Legislature ordered that the people should elect representatives to a State Convention which should decide whether the State should stay in the Union or not. To the great disgust and disappointment of the southern sympathizers in the Legislature and elsewhere, the election returns showed that not a single member of the secession party had been elected, though a few believers in states rights had been elected. The Convention after discussing matters for some time, finally voted in March not to secede. This was followed by futile attempts by Governor Jackson to take the State out of the Union anyhow. How Camp Jackson was taken by General Lyon, how the effort to effect peace between the different parties failed, how Governor Jackson abandoned Jefferson City, how he defeated Sigel at Carthage, how he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to secure assistance from the Confederate Government, how the State Convention in its second session deposed him and appointed Hamilton R. Gamble in his stead,

how the Confederates won the battle of Wilson's Creek in August and the battle of Lexington in September, how the subsequent victories of the Federals in the next few months culminated in the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March, 1862, thereby determining the course of the State with reference to the great question of secession—all these things need not be detailed here. But as we approach nearer to the battle of Kirksville in August, 1862, it is necessary to note somewhat more carefully the events that took place.

In June, 1862, all of Missouri except the three southwest counties was erected into a military district called the District of Missouri, and was placed under the command of General Schofield. This district was divided into five divisions. The Northeastern Division was placed under Col. McNeil of St. Louis, his effective force being at that time 1,250 men. (1)

At about this time the Federals began to realize what the plans of the Confederates were after the battle of Pea Ridge, and how those plans were working out. As has already been intimated this battle put an end forever to the Confederates' plan of taking the State out of the Union, but they did not give up hope as yet. Many Missouri men were sent back home after Pea Ridge to recruit soldiers for the Confederate army, and the forces that were to be thus raised were to be used in gaining the State for the southern cause. Places of rendezvous were appointed and men began to assemble in large numbers at these places in May and June. (2) The order for a general enrollment which was issued by Governor Gamble in July (3), served to send many men into these recruiting camps in order that they might escape the State militia service. (4)

Among those who were recruiting in Northeast Missouri were Joseph C. Porter, Poindexter, Franklin, and McCullough. (5) Porter had been elected Lieutenant Colonel of a regiment raised in Lewis County in July, 1861, and had taken

1. War of the Rebellion; Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 9.
2. Ibid, p. 10.
3. Ibid, p. 12.
4. Mudd, With Porter in North Missouri, Wash., 1909, 241.
5. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 12.

an active part in the campaigns in Missouri in that year and had been at the battle of Pea Ridge. He was sent back to his home in Lewis County by General Price after that battle to recruit troops (6), and some time in April or May he established a camp on the North Fabius River near Monticello. (7) To this camp a goodly number of recruits came.

When it became apparent to the Federals what was going on under Porter and others, every step was taken to prevent their plans from succeeding. Gen. Schofield caused all boats and other means of crossing the Missouri River which were not under guard of his troops, to be destroyed. This was to prevent any considerable number of Confederate troops from crossing the Missouri and proceeding south to join the main army. Meanwhile Federal troops were directed against the masses of Confederate recruits that were being collected so as to crush them before they became too large. (8) As Col. McNeil was in command of the Northeast Division of the District of Missouri, the attack upon these Confederate bands under Porter and the other leaders already mentioned was largely directed by him.

To escape attack and to increase the number of his enlistments, Porter moved from his camp on the North Fabius near Monticello to Memphis, which he took on July 13. (9) For nearly a month from this time on Porter was on the move almost constantly with the Federal forces generally in close pursuit. As this month of marching and fighting culminated in the battle of Kirksville, it is well to note it in detail.

It seems that Porter left Memphis a few hours after he entered it, going to Downings eight miles away where he camped that night. On the day following his departure Col. McNeil with three or four of his officers arrived at this place. (10) After leaving Memphis Porter became aware that the Federals were pursuing him, and so planned an ambush at a nearby place called Vassar's Hill. As a result he badly

6. Mudd, 25-26.
7. Ibid, 36.
8. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 12-13.
9. Mudd, 53 ff.
10. Mudd, 64.

crippled Major Clopper's battalion of Merrill's Horse on July 18. (11) Porter's men knew this engagement as Oak Ridge, and Clopper's men as Pierce's Mill. (12)

After this engagement Porter continued his way south through Knox and Shelby Counties. (13) At Florida, Monroe County, a skirmish took place on July 22, between Porter and Major Caldwell of the Third Iowa Cavalry. Caldwell was forced to fall back while Porter continued south. (14) Caldwell resumed his pursuit a little later and came upon Porter at Santa Fe and was defeated in shirmishes on July 24. Here he was compelled to fall back again while Porter advanced farther south through Audrain County. (15)

Porter left his camp in Audrain County on July 25 and moved west to the boundary line between Callaway and Boone Counties. He then turned east and came to Boone's Spring, nine miles north of Fulton. Here he was reinforced by men from Capt. Frost's and Capt. Cobb's companies, so that he had in all 260 men. (16) The expected attack from the Federals did not materialize, so Porter proceeded down the Auxvasse River to Moore's Mill, about seven miles east of Fulton. Here he was opposed by Col. Guitar who had advanced into Callaway County from Jefferson City, having been advised by General Schofield as to the movements of Porter. Guitar's forces were much larger than Porter's and were therefore able to win a victory which turned Porter back from his movement south. (17) Notwithstanding this serious check Porter, according to his recent biographer, accomplished a great deal in fifteen days, having marched five hundred miles, captured one town, parolled one hundred of the enemy, fought four battles, and captured a lot of arms. (18)

After Moore's Mill Porter turned north, sending detachments to Paris and Canton and thereby taking those pla-

11. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 163-4; Mudd, 82 ff.
12. Mudd, 101.
13. Ibid, 113 ff.
14. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 172-3; Mudd, 119 ff.
15. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 3; Mudd, 148 ff.
16. Mudd, 159-60.
17. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 184-7; Mudd, 159 ff.
18. Mudd, 199-200.

ces. (19) From Paris he went to Newark, Knox County, where he captured Capt. Lear and his company. (20.) Meanwhile Col. McNeill was following him in hot pursuit. Finding it advisable to keep on the move, Porter withdrew to the north from Newark, leaving that town just shortly before McNeill came up. Instead of pushing the pursuit any farther at that time, McNeill remained at Newark a few days awaiting reinforcements. Porter continued his march until he reached the western border of Lewis County where he was reinforced by the batallion of Col. Cyrus Franklin who had been sent to capture Canton. With this battallion was Col. Frisby H. McCullough of whom we shall hear more shortly. (21) Porter then called a conference of his officers to decide on what should be done.

The ultimate object of all these movements of Porter was, as has been said, to gather a large army and move it to Arkansas where it could join the forces that were gatherig there. The problem was how to get across the Missouri river, and it has already been noted how the Federals had anticipated this problem and made the crossing of that river very difficult by destroying the means of transportation and by patrolling the river. Nevertheless the Confederates did not despair of crossong the river, and in order that they might conceal their plans and draw the Federals away from the Missouri, a feint in force was to be made in the northern part of the state by Porter's forces, which feint would perhaps involve a bloody battle. (22.) It seems that Memphis had been thought of as the proper place at which to concentrate the Confederate forces and there bring on a batle, but while Porter and his men were deliberating on what they should do, a courier came from Captain Tice Cain to the effect that he and his Schulyer County company had entered Kirksville and taken it. (23.) Kirksville had been held for some days previous to Cain's arrival by a company of newly enrolled milita (Company 8, 56th Regi-

19. War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 212; Mudd, 246.
20. Mudd, 242-3, 246-7.
21. Mudd, 247.
22. Ibid, 248.
23. Ibid, 248.

ment) under Capt. James A. Smith, but this company had been ordered by Col. Gilstrap, who was in command at Macon to come to that place and avoid the danger which it was thought was threatening it at Kirksville. (24) Hardly had this company left before Capt. Cain came in and sent a courier to Porter telling him what he had done. This news caused Porter and his men to decide in favor of moving to the west and joining Cain at Kirksville near which place they might bring on an engagement.

The combined force under Porter numbered about two thousand. Of this number only about five hundred were well armed, while five hundred more were only fairly armed, and the rest, fully one-half of the entire number, were completely unarmed. (25) The presence of so many unarmed men was doubtless due to the fact that Porter was gathering up recruits many of whom had no arms of their own and would not get any until they reached the main Confederate army in Arkansas.

This conference of Porter and his men seems to have been held in the northeastern part of Knox County near the North Fabius River. The Federal forces were crowding in upon Porter very rapidly. On Sunday, August 3, they caught up with him, but after reconnoitering for a while decided not to give battle and so withdrew into camp. (26) Later that same day Porter and his force started towards Kirksville which place they reached Wednesday forenoon, August 6, and made their entrance from the northeast. (27)

Seeing how hard pressed he was, Porter decided to give battle at Kirksville. (28) It has been said by some that he made a mistake in not going on a little farther west and making his stand in the Chariton River bottom; it has been claimed that his chances would have been a great deal better there than in the town. Parties who were witnesses of the battle and who are still living in Kirksville say that Porter

24. History of Adair, Sullivan, Putnam and Schuyler Counties, Chicago, 1888, 304.
25. Mudd, 247.
26. Ibid, 252.
27. Ibid, 252.
28. Ibid, 257.

was altogether too much pushed to get beyond the town, and could not have chosen to go farther if he had wished. Warning the people to get out of town, Porter ordered some of his troops to barracade themselves in the houses, (29) and drew up his main line of defense behind a rail fence that ran along where the Wabash Railroad now is, just west of the central part of the town.

Kirksville was then a very small village, extending from High street on the east to the line of the present Wabash Railroad on the west, and a few blocks from the square to the north and the south. The population was about seven hundred. The census of 1860 gave it only 658. (30)

As has already been intimated, Porter had been pursued for some time by McNeil. McNeil had started the pursuit on July 29, the day after the battle of Moore's Mill. (31) According to his report he had started out from Palmyra on July 29, and after passing through Clinton, Monroe County, he came to Paris, which place he found Porter had just vacated. (32) The pursuit from there to Kirksville via Newark has already been detailed. It should be added that McNeil remarks in his report that the pursuit from Newark to Kirksville was delayed somewhat by the worn out condition of his men and horses, by the character of the country, and by the burning of the bridges and the destruction of the fords by Porter who was in retreat before him. (33)

McNeil's forces arrived at the edge of Kirksville about ten o'clock on the morning of August 6. The main column and artillery had been preceded by the advance guard composed of detachments of the Second and Eleventh Missouri State Militia under Major Benjamin. This advance guard occupied the northeast approach of the town, halting at the Parcelle place, afterwards known as the Kellogg place, and now the Kinloch farm. When McNeil learned that Porter had halted in the town, he ordered

29. War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 213.
30. Eight Census, 1860, Population, p. 288.
31. War of the Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 212.
32. Ibid, 213.
33. Ibid, 213.

all his troops to hurry up into line and deployed them on the northern and eastern sides of the town. Lieut. Col. Shaffer was put in command of the right wing which was composed of the Merrill Horse under Major Clopper, detachments of the Second and Eleventh Cavalry of the Missouri State Militia under Major Benjamin, and a section of the Third Indiana Battery under Lieut. Armington. Major Caldwell was put in command of the left wing which was composed of his own command and a detachment of the First Cavalry, Missouri Volunteers under Major Cox. A section of the steel battery of two pounder howitzers in charge of Sergeant West and ten men of Company C, Second Missouri State Militia, acted as did the Indiana Artillery under Capt. Barr of the Merrill Horse. (34)

In order to ascertain the exact position of the enemy in the town, McNeil called for an officer and a squad who should charge into the town and draw the enemy's fire. Lieut. Cowdrey of the Merrill Horse and a squad of eight men were detailed to execute this order. Cowdrey approached the public square, and according to McNeil's report, entered the square and passed around it, coming out at the other corner. (35) According to eyewitnesses still living in Kirksville, this squad came close to the northwest corner of the square but never entered it because of the heavy fire that was being poured into it. The charge revealed what had been sought for, but it was accomplished at some loss. According to McNeil's report two of the squad were mortally wounded, three slightly wounded, and five horses killed. (36) Other reports make the loss still greater while some make it less.

The enemy having been discovered the attack commenced. The artillery of five guns, planted near what was then called the Cumberland Academy, threw shot and shell into cornfields, gardens, and houses where Porter's men were. The dismounted men were thrown forward and they seized the outer line of sheds and houses on the north and east sides of the

34. Ibid, 213.
35. Ibid, 213-4; Mudd, 255-6.
36. Ibid, 213-4, 217.

town. Meanwhile a large body of Porter's men who had been in a cornfield in the southeast part of town was driven out. As the Federal forces moved towards the public square the two wings met and succeeded in taking the court house. As Porter yielded ground, he concentrated his forces along the main line of defense which had been stationed on the western edge of the town. From a position where the Wabash depot now stands he poured a galling fire into McNeil's men; but McNeil's right wing moved against this line and drove it away to the west, while the left wing took full possession of the southern part of the town. The battle lasted about three hours, from about ten in the morning to one in the afternoon. (37)

The pursuit was continued through the woods that lay to the west of the town and many horses and large quantities of arms, clothing and camp equippage were thus found. Major Clopper was ordered to pursue the fleeing Confederates with a body of Merrill's Horse, and he is reported by McNeil as having done so until he felt the enemy had crossed the Chariton. (38) It is the opinion however of certain citizens of Kirksville who were witnesses of the battle, that the pursuit was not kept up very long, for if it had been the whole of Porter's force, they claim, would have been captured. At any rate McNeil explains his failure to pursue any farther than was done, to the hunger and fatigue of his troops, to the large numbers of the enemy, and to the fear that the enemy might suddenly fall upon his rear. (39)

It is impossible to state with absolute accuracy the number of men engaged in this battle or the number of killed, wounded and captured. Col. McNeil in his report dated September 17, 1862, enumerated the forces under his command, but though they amounted to more than one thousand he says that only about five hundred of his men took part in the battle. The others were engaged in guarding the army train and in taking care of the horses of the men who were in the firing

37. Ibid, 214.
38. Ibid, 214.
39. Ibid, 214.

line. (40) He reported the Federal casualties as five killed and thirty-two wounded. (41) According to an account of the battle given in the History of Shelby County there were six men killed and their names were as follows: Capt. Mayne of the Third Iowa; A. H. Waggoner, Mathias Olstein and Sylvester Witham, privates of Company C, Merrill's Horse; Sergeant William Bush of Company B, Ninth Missouri State Militia: H. H. Moore, of Company E, First Missouri State Militia. (42) These names have never been verified by the writer from official records. Col. Wells Blodget in his address delivered at the unveiling of the McNeil monument in Belle fontaine Cemetery in St. Louis in 1894, said that the Federal loss was twenty-eight killed and sixty wounded. What his source of information was is not known. (43) Col. McNeil was slightly wounded in the head during the engagement.

While it is impossible to ascertain the exact figures for the Federal side, the above estimates are undoubtedly more nearly correct than any that may be given for the Confederate side. Porter's men numbered about two thousand, but not over five hundred, if that many, took part in the battle. (44) Those that were unarmed or poorly armed hurried on to the woods west of the town before the battle began. The Confederates killed are estimated all the way from thirty-five to one hundred and fifty, the wounded from seventy-five to four hundred, and the captured from fifty to two hundred and fifty. McNeil in his report said that about one hundred and fifty were killed, three hundred to four hundred wounded, and forty-seven taken prisoner. (45) He had an excellent opportunity of knowing the situation as he stayed in the town several days after the battle, but we can not take his estimates as being as correct as an official count would have been.

On the day after the battle, the people of the town were ordered by Col. McNeil to bury the Confederate dead. According to the testimony of several citizens of the town who

40. Ibid, 212.
41. Ibid, 215.
42. History of Shelby County, quoted in Mudd's With Porter, 256.
43. Address of Col. Wells H. Blodgett, St. Louis, 1894, p. 7.
44. Mudd, 247.
45. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 315.

respondeed to the order and who are still living there, the bodies of twenty-six men who were killed in the battle were gathered up and put in one long grave in the cemetery lying west of the square. But according to Mr. S. M. Johnston who was in the battle under McNeil and who has long resided in Kirksville since the war, there were three graves dug and thirty-seven Confederates were put in the one dug in a ravine west of the present Wabash depot, twenty-six in the one in the cemetery, and over twenty in the one to the northwest of the cemetery. This did not include the prisoners who were executed after the battle. As yet the writer of this article has found no confirmation of the statement of Mr. Johnston about there being three graves. It is agreed however by all that many of those who were buried in the cemetery were removed by their friends to other places as convenience permitted.

Among the Confederate killed was Lycurgus Bozarth of Adair County who is said to have joined Porter the morning of the battle. He was of the well known family of Bozarths who were among the first settlers of the county and whose relatives were generally ardent unionists. He did not die for several days after the battle and was buried in a separate grave in the cemetery. (46)

The condition of the Confederate wounded after the battle was something frightful. Porter come into town with practically nothing in the way of surgical instruments or medical supplies. Dr. A. P. Willard who then owned a drug store in Kirksville and is yet a resident of the place, says that Porter came to him on arriving in town and forced him to give up his surgical instruments. Dr. Willards says that he was promised the safe return of the instruments, but that he never saw them again. He is under the impression that Porter wanted to arrange for a hospital at the Isom Dodson place which stood southwest of the town to take care of the wounded after the battle. Even if that were the case the rout that ensued after the battle made whatever arrangements Porter might have made quite

46. History of Adair County, 308.

useless. The Confederate wounded were therefore in a deplorable condition. The townspeople were naturally afraid to render assistance as they felt that they might be dealt with as rendering help to the enemy of the victors. Moreover the local doctors were helpless to do anything as the only surgical instruments in the town had been taken away and nobody knew anything about where they were. Whatever of assistance was finally rendered is due to Mr. John L. Porter who was then Deputy Circuit Clerk and Recorder of Adair County and who is yet a citizen of Kirksville. He was a southern sympathizer but was acquainted with McNeil. On coming back to town late in the afternoon after the battle was over he saw the dreadful condition of affairs, and went to McNeil and begged for help. McNeil detailed Surgeon Lyons to do the work. Lyons called in Dr. Willard to assist him, and for two days these two men amputated limbs and performed other surgical operations upon the wounded who had been brought to what was known as the Ivie building, which stood on the northeast corner of the square where Griffith now has his grocery store. The amputated limbs were thrown out the window of the building into the alley, and it is said that a cart load accumulated there before they could be taken off and buried. The Ivie building was not sufficient to accommodate the wounded so a great many were taken care of at other places in the town.

The Federal wounded were cared for at the Cumberland Academy and at the Parcells place east of town until they could be brought in.

Before the battle began, the citizens acting on the warning of Porter, had very generally fled. Many of them fled to the north and several on reaching a place of reasonable safety from danger climbed up on the roof of a barn and witnessed the battle. Had there not been a general desertion of the town many of the citizens would have been killed. As it was one woman, Mrs. Elizabeth Coots was mortally wounded. She and her husband lived in a house just northwest of the square. When the battle began they took refuge in their cellar. Ac-

counts differ as to how she was killed. According to one she was killed after she left the cellar and gone back into the house, the battle being at that time only about one-half over. According to another, some Confederates tried to take refuge in the Coots cellar while she was still in it and she was shot as she started to come out. She lived only a few days after she was shot. (47)

The day after the battle fifteen of the Confederates who had been captured in the fight were executed on the spot where the original Wabash depot afterwards first stood, that is about two hundred yards south of the present depot. They were executed on the charge of having violated their paroles. (48) They were William Bates, R. M. Galbreath, Lewis Rollins, William Wilson, Columbus Harris, Reuben Thomas or Thompson, Thomas Webb, and Reuben Green of Monroe County; James Christian, David Wood, and Bennett Hayden of Shelby County; William Sallee, and Hamilton Brannon of Marion County, and John Kent of Adair County. (49)

On the second day after the battle, Col. Frisby McCullough was likewise executed. His case seems to be somewhat dieffrent from that of the other fifteen. He had been a very successful recruiting officer in North Missouri, and was at the time of his execution an officer in the Missouri State Guards, a military force that had been organized under Governor Jackson for the purpose of taking the State out of the Union. (50) McCullough had been operating with Porter only a very short time before the battle of Kirksville, having joined him after he had left Newark on his way to Kirksville. Almost immediately after the battle he had become so ill he could not keep up with the command. Declining the escort which Porter offered him, he started to go to his home in Marion County. Near Edina he was captured by the State Militia and taken to that place. Knowing that some drastic punishment would be likely meted out to him, he asked to be sent to Palmyra; but instead he was brought to Kirksville by Capt. James

47. History of Adair County, 307.
48. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 863.
49. History of Shelby County, p. 757, quoted in Mudd, 342.
50. Mudd, 274-6.

S. Best whose command was escorting McNeil's supply train, which had come into Edina on its way to Kirksville just after McCullough had been captured. (51) According to one of McCullough's friends who wrote after the event, he was paraded up and down the streets of Kirksville amid the jeers and shouts of joy of the Federals. (52) The writer of this article has had this statement confirmed by at least one of the spot where the fifteen had been shot the day before and standing up before his executioners and looking them steadily in the face he gave them the signal to fire. His remarkable bravery excited the admiration of friend and foe alike. (53)

There is some dispute as to the procedure which led up to the execution of McCullough. Col. McNeil in a letter to a friend some time after the event said: "McCullough was tried by a commission of which Lieut. Col. Shaffer was President, under Order No. 2 of General Halleck, and Nos. 8 and 18 of General Schofield. He had no commission except a printed paper authorizing the bearer to recruit for the Confederate army. He was found guilty of bushwhacking and of being a guerilla. He was a brave fellow and a splendid specimen of manhood. I would gladly have spared him had duty permitted. As it was he suffered the same fate that would have fallen to you or me if we had been found recruiting within the Confederate lines. He met a soldier's death as became a soldier." (54)

Dr. Joseph A. Mudd who was with Porter up to and including the battle of Moore's Mill, has recently written a book entitled "With Porter in North Missouri," which has been extensively used in the preparation of this article. In his book the author has condemned in no uncertain terms the execution of McCullough. He doubts the statement of McNeil that a trial was held at all, and supports his view by the fact that the Government records contain no account of it whatsoever. He moreover points out that in McNeil's report made

51. Ibid, 269.
52. Ibid, 270.
53. Palmyra Courier, Aug. 15, 1862, reprinted in War of Rebellion Records Ser. II, Vol. IV, p. 885-7.
54. History of Lewis County, quoted in Mudd, 272.

on September 17, 1862, mention is made of the execution of the fifteen prisoners taken at the battle of Kirksville who were charged with having broken their paroles, but no mention is made of the execution of McCullough nor of any trial. He even goes farther and doubts whether any of these fifteen were guilty of having violated their paroles as they were charged. (55) It might be further said that General Sterling Price said that he thought he had given McCullough a commission to recruit troops at Springfield the preceding winter but he did not know whether he ever acted under it or not. (56) It is not known whether General Price ever verified his statement made from memory or not.

Some other things took place which make the story sadder still. A Dr. Davis who had come into town with Porter was attempting to give some assistance to the Confederate wounded who were in the southwest part of town when Federal soldiers came up and ordered him to go with them to McNeil's headquarters. It is told that after he started to go with them he was made to run and was then shot down for running. (57) How true this part of the story is cannot be said.

To the list of fifteen who were executed on the charge of having violated their paroles there came very near being added the name of Jackson C. Oldham of Kirksville. It seems that here were two Oldhams by the same name, father and son. The father had been paroled but the son had never been. Notwithstanding this the son had been arrested and tried at Macon and executed on the charge of having violated his porole. All this had occurred before the battle of Kirksville. McNeil was about to arrest the father and execute him when Mr. John L. Porter of Kirksville intervened and assured McNeil that the elder Oldham had never violated his parole. Porter also protested that the younger Oldham had been unjustly executed. Later the older Oldham erected a monument to the memory of his son in the Kirksville cemetery on which

55. Mudd, 280.
56. War of Rebellion, Ser. II, Vol. V, 804.
57. History of Adair County, 308.

was inscribed an account of the awful mistake that was made.

As has been already said Col. McNeil made no attempt to pursue Porter and his men on the day of the battle except for a little ways west of town. He assigned as the reason for not doing so the exhausted condition of his men and horses. He went therefore into camp in Kirksville and took measures for collecting forage and supplies and for putting the men and horses in condition for pursuit a little later.

On August 7th Lieut. Col. Morsey with four hundred and twenty men of the Tenth Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, and Major Rogers with the Second Battalion of the Eleventh Regiment Cavalry, Missouri State Militia, came into camp at Kirksville from the north. As McNeil was moving towards Kirksville from Newark the day before he had ordered these troops under Morsey and Rogers to move along a line north of him so as to prevent Porter from escaping into Scotland or Schuyler Counties. McNeil thinks that Porter's knowledge of this particular arrangement had obliged him to make his stand at Kirksville. The arrival of this force on the seventh swelled McNeil's command to about seventeen hundred and added to the difficulties in getting sufficient supplies. (58) However on the eighth Lieut. Hiller arrived from Palmyra by way of Edina with eight thousand rations and a good supply of horseshoes. The escort under Capt. Best that accompanied this supply train was the one that brought McCullough a prisoner to Kirksville from Edina, as has been related. (59)

Porter's return towards the Chariton resulted in more or less disbandment. However a part at least of his forces tried to keep together, and moved in a southeasterly direction towards Macon. Near Stockton this body was attacked by a Federal force and was compelled to retreat. This was on August 8th. (60) On the next day this same body killed from ambush a hundred or more Federals under Col. McFerran while they were crossing Walnut Creek in their pursuit of the Confederates. After shelling the woods around Walnut Creek

58. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 214.
59. Ibid, 214-5.
60. Ibid, 551.

for some time, McFerran moved towards the Chariton River and at Sear's Ford (or See's Ford) skirmishing ensued. But being unable to get his artillery across the river, he was compelled to allow Porter to escape. (61) However Porter had been foiled in his attempt to cross the North Missouri Railroad (the present Wabash R. R.) so as to rally his scattered forces, and finding the way of escape to the south in a body cut off, he decided to disband his organization completely and leave each company to take care of itself. This was done on August 11th. (62)

In the month that followed, Porter managed to get a force together and on September 12th he effected the capture of Palmyra. The Confederate prisoners confined in the jail there were liberated, and the bonds that had been forced from southern sympathizers to observe their oaths of allegiance, were taken away from the Provost Marshal's office and burned. During the night of the twelfth Andrew Allsman who had been the object of much hatred on the part of the Confederates was taken from his home and murdered. Just when and how and by whom he was murdered is not definitely known. (63) In retaliation for this act ten Confederate prisoners were shot at Palmyra by order of McNeil on October 18, 1862. (64) This event has gone down in history as the Massacre of Palmyra, and served to intensify the hatred on both sides.

After the capture of Palmyra Porter marched northward into Lewis County. He was followed by McNeil and an engagement took place at Whaley's Mill on September 14, in which Porter's forces were scattered. (65) This was Porter's last engagement in North Missouri. For the next six weeks he gave himself up to the task of getting twelve hundred men through to the Confederate lines south of the Missouri. He is credited with having sent in all five thousand men from North Missouri during the year 1862. (66) He was wounded at the battle of Hartsville in Wright County, Missouri, on

61. Ibid, 208; Mudd, 288-9.
62. Mudd, 286.
63. Ibid, 292 ff.
64. Mudd, 299 ff; War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 719.
65. War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, 269-70; Mudd, 310-11.
66. Mudd, 311-17.

January 11, 1863, and died from the effects of the wound in camp near Batesville, Ark., on February 18, 1863, aged forty-four years. (67)

Col. McNeil served through the war and was given the title of Brigadier General shortly after the battle of Kirksville. He took an active part in the politics of the State for some time after the war. One act of his long after the war has a local bearing. At the time when the Board of Regents of the First District Normal School was considering the location of the school which the act of the General Assembly, approved in March, 1870, provided for, friends of Kirksville appealed to Gen. McNeil to use his influence in behalf of this place. Mr. W. H. Parsells of Kirksville who was a long time acquaintance of McNeil, went to him and urged that since the town had been the scene of conflict during the war it should be the place where the State should have one of its institutions. Just what actual influence McNeil exerted in the matter cannot be said; but he did write a letter to certain members of the Board who were just retiring from their positions as State officers and hence also from the Board. He died June 7, 1891, aged seventy-eight years. (70)

The battle of Kirksville was considered at the time as an engagement of considerable significance, especially by the Federal army officers. For some time, as we have seen, the Federals had been in hot pursuit of Porter and it was thought that this battle had completely ended his recruiting expedition. The reports of the Federal officers are congratulatory over their marked success in doing away with so dangerous an enemy. Lieut. Col. Shaffer said it was the most successful battle ever fought in Missouri and the victory most complete. To a very large extent their views that the battle was an important one is correct. Porter was never able to recover fully from the defeat he met at Kirksville. But it must not be lost sight of that even after this defeat he was able to keep up his recruiting to a certain extent. What he might have done if

67. Mudd, 318 ff.
75. Mudd, 308; Blodgett, Address at the Unveiling of the McNeil Monument. 3
76. War of Rebellion, Ser. L, Vol. XIII, 13, 216-7.

he had won the battle instead of losing it, is of course problematical. In the history of the desperate effort of the Confederates to force the State of Missouri out of the Union, the battle of Kirksville has an important part, and it is only as it is considered in that connection that it is given its due place in the annals of Missouri. E. M. VIOLETTE.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held in Indianapolis, during the holidays, and with it the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Ohio Valley Historical Association and the North Central Teachers Association, also met, and as a part of one or the other of these, various conferences were held, as that of State and local historical societies, the Archivests and others. Three or four meetings were in session some of the hours, so that many papers were read on a great variety of subjects. The meeting at which the Governor of Indiana gave the welcoming address, and the president gave his presidential address, was an enjoyable one, because both of these gentlemen spoke loud enough and distinct enough to be easily heard without effort.

It is a serious defect and not at all creditable to the Association that so many of the papers that are read or the talks that are given are delivered in a very unsatisfactory manner, as to distinctness or loudness of voice, so that they can not be heard except by those on a few seats close to the reader. It is a problem why it is possible for a man to write an excellent paper, and then not realize that he is entirely out of place if he reads it so indistinctly or so low that only a few persons can get any benefit from what he says. If it shall be said that some have not the ability to make themselves heard the answer would be that they should not inflict themselves upon the members of an audience who travel long distances to hear and be benefited by what they hear.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Second Paper.

The following inscriptions are on monuments erected in Woodlawn Cemetery, Jefferson City.

Elvira G. wife of J. B. Adams born Dec 18, 1828 Died Jan. 16, 1879.

Mrs. Nancy Anderson consort of John Anderson Esq born Sept 19, 1798 died Oct 6th 1844.

Philip Henry Andrae born Dec 23, 1804 died Sept 7, 1857

Catherine Andrae born Mar. 9, 1804 died May 14, 1893.

A. G. Andrae 3d Ind Battery

Wm Andrae geboren May 5, 1817 gestorben Mch. 7, 1857.

Catherine wife of R. H. Andrews born Mar. 9, 1829 died Nov. 16, 1862.

Catherine Bare died Aug. 20 1858 aged 26 years

Benjamin Beniesford a native of Ireland who departed this life May 11th 1849 aged 28 years

Oliver P. Bompass born Sept 2, 1825 died Oct 13, 1846

Catherine W. wife of W. H. Bradbury born in Louisa Co. Va. died in Jefferson City, Mo April 29, 1881

G. W. Branham Co. D. 68 U. S. C. I.

Joseph Brenneisen died June 14, 1855 aged 64 years

David Bruce born in Rend Forse Parish of Latherson Caithness-shire Scotland died April 27, 1855 aged 35 years.

Bernard Bruns M. D. born Dec. 23, 1806 in Lohme Kingdom of of Hanover died April 1, 1864

Henrietta wife of Dr. B. Bruns 1813-1899

Henry C. Brunes Capt. Co. G. 10 Mo. Vol. Cav. born April 19, 1842 killed at Iuka, Miss July 7, 1863

Eliza J. wife of Charles F. Burgez born Dec 11, 1813 died July 8, 1868

Herman Busch born Oct. 14, 1811 died Sept 2, 1883

Harden Casey who died Oct 28, 1844 aged 48 years & 6 days.

Sacred to the memory of Christopher Casey departed this life August the 2d 1840 aged 85 years

Vina Cheeny died Dec 4, 1892 aged 80 years

Mary wife of Leroy Clatterbuck & daughter of G. & F. Gray born July 4, 1809 died Jan 4, 1854

B. P. Collins died July 14, 1846 aged 42 yrs

Alexander M. Davison M. D. born Dec. 23 1813 died Mar. 5, 1889

Matilda M Davison born June 9th A. D. 1819 died October 2nd A. D. 1853

Sacred to the memory of Edward J. Davison born in Winchester, Virginia May 24, 1805 died Sept. 13th 1848

In memory of Elizabeth Alexander daughter of Wm A. & A. A. Davison born May 29th 1830 in Wheeling Va died July 31st 1840

Dr. William Armstrong Davison born in Va Aug 20, 1810 died Jan 6, 1877

Mrs. Catherine Dellinger consort of Henry Dellinger of Washington County Maryland who departed this life June 4th 1843 aged 63 years.

Joseph S. Dellinger son of Henry & Catherine Dellinger departed this life June 26 1849 aged 39 years & twenty three days

Ann Mary Dellinger born November 7th A. D. 1885 departed this life September 18th 1852

Leonard Dippold geb. 9 Mai 1824 gest. 28 Mai 1908

Catherine Dochla born 1802 died June 3, 1877

John Dochla born Aug 10, 1824 died Dec. 10, 1893

Thos. Donahoe died Feb 1, 1895 aged 64 years Late of Co. B, 26 Ohio Inf.

Sacred to the memory of Stephen C. Dorriss born Oct 14, 1792 died Jan 25, 1846

Sarah Dorriss born Ap. 4, 1796 died May 22, 1838

Henry C. Dozier born Nov 14, 1828 died March 17, 1860

Isaac Dwight born in Harner, N. Y. May 14, 1809 died Jan. 18, 1895

Elizabeth G. wife of Isaac Dwight born in Newburg N. Y. Nov 10, 1811 died June 7, 1891

Sacred to the memory of Benjamin Evans born the 12th day of August 1817 and died the 8th day of March 1845

Charles Feyerlein born Aug 18, 1818 died July 6, 1859

In memory of Mary Flemming born June 11, 1818 died Jan 26, 1881

Francis Geisberg was born 1816 in Oelde Prov. Westphalia Kingdom of Prussia died Nov. 28, 1858

Casper Geisberg Priv. Co. B. S. Mo. Vol. Inf. born Sept. 30, 1841 wounded at Fort Donelson Feb 15 died March 18, 1862

Mary wife of Chesley Glover died Oct. 8, 1849 in the 87th year of her age

Charles Gohegan born Nov. 25, 1827 died Sept 4, 1878

Henrietta his wife born Oct 25, 1827 died July 19, 1878

Job Goodall born March 20, 1797 died Aug 1, 1856 Patriot soldier of the war 1812-1815

Sarah Embree wife of Job Goodall Sept 27, 1810 Dec 22, 1875

Margaret L. wife of Jonathan Goodwin born May 10, 1807 died Jan. 25, 1861.

John Gordon who departed this life August the 4th 1837 aged 76 years

Catherine Gordon wife of Alex Gordon and daughter of Simon Shell of Virginia born 15th Dec. 1797, dead 18th Dec. 1834

Casander wife of J. C. Gordon born Aug 28, 1787 died July 23, 1852 aged 65 years

Erected to the memory of David S. Green born Sept. 13th 1820 died Jan. 30th 1851

Catherine M. wife of Peleer Ham born Sept 20, 1818 died Oct 3, 1877

William Hamilton a native of Ireland who departed this life May 11th 1849 aged 32 years

Pleasant Hough wife of Jason Harrison born Dec. 5, 1803 in Loudon Co. Va died July 31, 1898 at Jefferson City Mo.

Sacred to the memory of Isaac H. Hay born in Virginia Oct. 10th 1810 died in Vicksburg, Mississippi Feb. 24, 1849

In memory of George Welsh Haynes born June 2nd 1824 died March 10th 1846

Christian Hazen died Aug. 16, 1868 aged 54 years

Mary Anne Hennessee born in Columbia S. C. 1830 died at Jefferson City, Mo. 1856.

August Hensel born Jan 4, 1813 died Feb. 3, 1886

Rosina wife of Augustin Hensel born in France Aug 8, 1813 died Oct. 15, 1875

Ann Mary Hofius born June 17, 1787 died Sept 9, 1855

Mary G. Hough born in Loudon County, Va Dec 25, 1814 died Jan 17, 1876

George W. Hough born in Loudon County Va, April 17, 1808 died Feb. 13, 1878

Mary Hough born Sept. 20, 1776 died Apr 13, 1845

In memory of Paulina Jones died Nov. 8, 1862 aged 34 years

In memory of Caroline J. wife of M. L. Julian born July 5, 1824 died Jan. 28, 1871

John H. Karges born Aug. 22, 1801 died Oct 21, 1870

Christian H. Kiessling born Jan. 2, 1817, died July 10, 1856

William Kinney died Mar. 10, 1873 aged 74 years

John M. & Julin C. Koecher born Aug 7, 1822 Dec 11, 1823 died Jan 8, 1908 Mar 2, 1901

Kunigunda wife of L. H. A. Krouse M. D. born Mar. 9, 1827 died Oct 26, 1901

Ludwig H. A. Krause M. D. born June 13 ,1818 died April 11, 1862

Lucindo daughter of D. & M. Lee born Sept. 18, 1813 died Sept 5, 1861

Solomon Lehr born Oct 21 1812 died Aug 11th 1840

Prosper Le Page born in France, May 28, 1818 died Mar. 26, 1885

Elizabeth his wife born July 10, 1833

Chas. F. Lohman born in Prussia Dec 26, 1817 died July 28, 1879

Henrietta wife of Chas. F. Lohman born in Weimer, Saxony Sept 15, 1823 died Jan. 26, 1892

Sacred to the memory of Peter Lyons native of England born 1805 died 11th September, 1845

Julia W. McConnell mother of Geo. J. Vaughan born Feb. 13, 1809 died Oct 27, 1875

James McCubin died Aug. 26, 1856 aged about 45 years

Peter McLaine departed this life May 9, 1869 aged 68 years

Margaret McLaine consort of Peter McLaine died Aug 28th A. D. 1851 aged 50 years A Christian

Maria L. Miller consort of Thomas Miller born 24th day of January 1818 departed this life 30th July 1851

William Miller born Jan 19, 1832 died June 29, 1859

Gilley C. Miller consort of Thomas Miller born 28th day of February 1807 departed this life February 19th, 1837

To the memory of Miss Sarah Miller born Aug 7 1762 died January 19th 1849

Peter Miller born in Mitchelslandt Hessen Darmstadt Germany Sept. 14, 1810 died July 5, 1884

Elizabeth Miller born in Michelslandt Hessen Darmstadt Germany Sept 3, 1808 died June 15, 1882

Frederich Moeller born May 15, 1794 died May 3, 1862

Sacred to the memory of Michal Mulroney a native of Ballyoullen Co. Killkenney Ireland who died July 13, 1854 aged 45 years

Sacred to the memory of Sarah C. Paulsel formerly Sarah C. Hull consort of Jacob Paulsel born March 31st 1808 died November 6th 1850

Elizabeth Philips born Mar. 15, 1816 died Sept. 14, 1897

Parmelia M. wife of W. D. Pratt born May 21, 1809 died Feb. 28, 1890

W. D. Pratt born July 16, 1809 died Jan 31, 1892

Larken Rains born in Virginia 1789 died Sept. 9, 1841 aged 52 years

Violet Ramsey born 1796 died April 24 1861

Elijah Ramsey born 1794 died March 14, 1862

Sylvester Root born Nov. 11, 1792 died Mch 8, 1852

J. J. Rowland died Mar. 8, 1886 aged 47 years. Co. A. 7 Pa Cav. Vols

Sacred to the memory of Karolina Sochs daughter of Martin and Anna Elizabeth Koennig and wife of Franz Sachs born July 25, 1828 died Aug 7, 1847 aged 19 years and 12 days and

Karolina Sachs infant daughter of Franz and Karolina Sachs born July 28, 1847 died Aug 18, 1847 aged 21 days

Rev Jacob C. Spitler born October 9th 1811 died April 30th 1855 Born in Augusta City, Virginia

Benjamin Stark died Mar. 26, 1891 aged 75 years

Jonas H. Stevenson born Oct. 7, 1822 died Jan. 18, 1861

Miriam wife of Jas. Stevenson born Apr. 17, 1791 died Jan 11, 1860

Sacred to the memory of Mrs. Ann E. Stuart wife of Charles W. Stuart born Feby 4, 1821 died May 4, 1847

H. M. Tholbron wife of Joseph Tholbron born Nov 13, 1815 died July 22, 1851

Granville P. Thomas died on the 20th January 1849 aged 55 years

Sacred to the memory of John Tyrrell native of Kilkenney Ireland died on the 29th of August 1853 aged 30 years

Barbara Viesmann geb. Opall geb. 14, Maerz 1800, gest. 10 Aug, 1883

Apollonia consort of John Walde, born May 12, 1831: died July 7, 1857

Ann Walker born May 9, 1802 died Feb 5, 1861

Sarah Walker born Campbell County Va. Dec 12, 1781 died May 12, 1849 aged 67 years

G. G. Washington died May 20, 1870 aged 25 years

Sacred to the memory of Augustus Wilke geboren im jahre 1811 gestorben den 8 ten September 1844

Martha wife of Harvey L. Williams died at Glasgow Oct. 9, 1854 aged 27 years

My sister Mrs. Eliza H Hockaday died on steamer El Paso June 16, 1854 aged 45 years

George B. Winston born June 9, 1822 Green County Ky died June 22, 1882

BOOK NOTICES.

Historical Sketch of the "Sixties" in Chariton County, Missouri, by **Captain Louis Benicke.** Brunswick, Mo., 1909. 25 [2] p. ports.

The survivors of the Civil War in Missouri are rapidly decreasing in numbers, and it is a matter of congratulation that Captain Benicke has published the record of the events in Chariton County. He came to America from Germany in 1856, locating at Brunswick where his home has been ever since, and where he was called by his fellow citizens to many positions of honor and trust, in both political and business fields. In his military service, as mayor of Brunswick, member of the school board, city counsellor, State Senator and in other positions he earned the approval of his fellow citizens. The above sketch by him is full of interest, and is a valuable cotribution to local Americana.

Bound with the volume presented to the Society is a pamphlet of thirteen pages—"Some light upon a Chariton County episode of '64," and it like the other work is of value about the stirring times of the Civil War.

The Missouri State Conference of Charities and Corrections. Tenth Annual Meeting, Nov. 1909. n. p., n. d.

This report of 91 pages gives the proceedings of the meeting at Farmington, edited by William T. Cross, the Secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. The papers that were presented, and are preserved in this publication are of interest, especially to those engaged in activities of social betterment or interested in philanthropic measures and methods.

Sociology and Modern Social Problems. By **Charles A. Ellwood, Ph. D.,** Professor of Sociology, University of Mis-

souri. New York, Cin. & Chi. American Book Company, (c. 1910.)

The above book of 331 pages is intended as an elementary text in Sociology as applied to modern social problems, and also for use in University Extension Courses and in Teachers' Reading Circles.

The elementary principles of Sociology are stated and illustrated, through the study of the origin, development, structure, and functions of the family considered as a typical human institution. In following chapters various concrete problems, as that of immigration, the negro, poverty and pauperism, crime, and of the city, are considered, and the working of factors in social organization and evolution applied to their interpretation. The standing of Prof. Ellwood in University and in social charity and reform movements is an assurance of the value of this work by him, and the sociological student will find the book one of much interest.

Forest and Town: poems. By **Alexander Nichols DeMenil.** New York and Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The Torch Press, 1910.

Dr. McMenil has been writing poetry from his boyhood days, and the above book is partly a compilation of verses he published between 1870 and 1887 in New York and St. Louis magazines and literary papers, and in the Sunday issues of the St. Louis daily newspapers. Others included in the book written since 1886 are now for the first time published. The book is well printed and attractively issued by the Torch Press of Cedar Rapids.

The Bald Knobbers. A romantic and historical novel. By **Clyde Edwin Tuck,** with illustrations by Will Vawter. Indianapolis; B. F. Bowen & Co., 1910.

Last year we had a book of poetry, "For love of you," from Mr. Tuck, who is a native of Polk County, Missouri. His life in the Ozark region of Missouri and work on the metropolitan newspapers, have fitted him for the writing of this novel of Ozark life, and of the few years when the Bald Knobbers were a power felt by friend and foe within the territory

through which they extended. They first came into prominence in Taney County, Missouri, and took their name from the "balds" and "knobs" of the mountains among which they lived. The first leader was Nathaniel N. Kinney, who had been captain of a West Virginia Cavalry company, and the organization soon spread to Christian, Stone, Douglas and other counties and numbered several thousands of members. The original object was to enforce law where it had not been enforced by the officers of the law. Later the organization was used by individuals to wreak vengeance on personal enemies, and after the massacre of the household of an innocent and influential family during a raid of the Bald Knobbers. Gov. Francis had the guilty ones arrested and punished, and the organization was dissolved in 1889 after five years of great power. Mr. Tuck's book does not give a history of the organization, but it is an interesting romance of the times, the place and the members of that organization.

Bacon is Shakespeare, by **Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart.** New York, The John McBride Co., 1910.

The question of who wrote Shakespeare is again presented in this book in attractive print, facsimiles of title pages, illustrations of monuments, and other matters bearing on the authorship of the plays known as Shakespeare's, acknowledged to be the grandest production of the human mind. Classical scholars are amazed at the prodigious amount of knowledge of classical lore in them; lawyers declare their author must have been one among the greatest of lawyers, both in theory and in practice; physicians point out the proofs of extensive knowledge in their line; and travelers think that the author must have visited foreign cities.

The author argues from all the known facts about Shakespeare that it would have been impossible for him to have written all these things, and he presents skillful arguments to sustain his claim that Bacon was the real author. The Society is indebted to the author, Sir Durning-Lawrence, for a copy of this interesting work.

NECROLOGY.

Maj. John Lawrence Bittinger, a member of this Society, was born near Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, November 28, 1833. In 1852 in Illinois he entered a newspaper office to learn the art of printing and two years afterwards he was a delegate in a congressional convention at the beginning of the organization of the Republican party. In 1855 he came to St. Louis, to the Intelligencer, and two years later to the Democrat, of which the late Governor B. Gratz Brown was then editor. Afterwards he became publisher of the St. Louis Evening Bulletin, but in 1860 he disposed of it and removed to St. Joseph, and soon after the inauguration of Lincoln was appointed postmaster of St. Joseph. In 1861 he entered the army as a private, and a few months later became Major on the staff of Gen. Willard P. Hall. In 1862 he was a delegate to the first Republican state convention held in Missouri, was its secretary, and made a member of the state central committee. He was that year elected to the General Assembly, was made speaker pro tem, and was looked upon as one of the leaders of the House. During the same year he purchased an interest in the St. Joseph Herald, became its managing editor, and made it one of the most influential papers west of the Mississippi. In 1870 he was again elected to the legislature and re-elected two and four years later, and again elected in 1894 and re-elected two years later. He was a delegate to the Republican National conventions of 1872 and 1896. In 1897 President McKinley appointed him consul general at Montreal, Canada, the most important consular position on the continent, and one that he filled with credit. In 1905 he was again elected to the legislature and was the leader of the forces favoring Richard C. Kerens in the memorable fight in which Major Warner was successful. Major Bittinger for fifty years was a prominent

Republican and well known factor in the public life of the nation. He died in St. Joseph, January 9, 1911.

Hon. Giles Boland was born in Greenfield, Dade County, Missouri, November 4, 1843, spent his early life in that county, and was in the Union army during the Civil War. In 1874 he went in business in St. Louis, and after thirty-five years he retired and afterwards held a position in the St. Louis post-office. In 1903 he was elected to the Forty-second General Assembly of Missouri. He died in St. Louis, December 11, 1910.

Judge Gavon D. Burgess of the Supreme Court of Missouri was born in Mason County, Kentucky, November 5, 1835. In 1854 he was admitted to the bar, and in 1858 was elected to the Kentucky Legislature. He came to Missouri in 1865, and three years later was nominated for Circuit Judge, but was defeated. In 1874 he was elected judge of the Eleventh Judicial Circuit, and reelected in 1880 and 1886, serving eighteen years in that office, and he was then elected to the Supreme Court in 1892 and again in 1902. After the death of Judge Fox of the Supreme Court Judge Burgess was unanimously elected Chief Justice October 17, 1910. The almost universal statement in the newspapers that by the death of this judge and the appointment of another in his place will cause a different decision of the Court in a matter pending before it from what it would be if he had not died is an insult to the Court and to the members of it. If the members of the Court are holding their places as politicians and not as jurists the sooner political questions are taken from them the sooner will the Supreme Court be looked upon with respect.

Judge Burgess was buried at his former home at Linneus.

Dr. John William Ellis, a Missouri author, was born at Carthage, Illinois, December 29, 1839, but his parents soon after moved to Kentucky, and he was raised and educated in that State, graduating in Georgetown College in the class of 1860. Coming to Missouri he was recognized as an educator

of standing, and Governor Crittenden appointed him in 1881 as Commissioner for Missouri to the National Educational Conference held that year. He attained a high rank as a Shakespearian scholar, and his Shakespearian library yet at his former home at Plattsburg, Missouri, is recognized as one of the best private libraries of the State. His scholarship in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Sanscrit gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Chicago University in 1889. In his educational work he was connected with Jones' Commercial College in St. Louis, Woodland College at Independence, and Plattsburg College. Of his published works the Society library contains "Life Mission, St. Louis, 1876," and Solomon's "Song of Songs, Columbia, 1897." His metrical translation of Antigone and Sophicles was published in 1872. Other works were left in manuscript by him. For the last five years he did pastoral work at Bentonville, Arkansas, but retained his home at Plattsburg, Missouri. His son, J. Breckenridge Ellis, is well known from a dozen publications of popularity. Dr. Ellis died at Bentonville, Arkansas, November 30, 1910, and was brought to his Missouri home for burial.

Hon. Charles James Hughes, Jr., was born at Kingston, Missouri, February 16, 1853. Moving to Richmond, Ray county, he graduated from Richmond College in 1871, and received his law degree two years later from the University of Missouri. He was elected a member of the United States Senate from Colorado for a term expiring March, 1915. He died at Denver, Colorado, January 11, 1911.

Merom D. Lewis, a member of this Society, was born in St. Louis County on the Manchester road, August 17, 1836, and spent the early part of his life near Glencoe in the same county. He was educated in the schools of the county and city, and in the law department of the State University, and was admitted to the bar in St. Louis, June 30, 1859. In 1870 he was appointed Public Administrator in St. Louis to fill a vacancy and was re-elected three times, holding the office for

fourteen years. In 1890 he was elected city treasurer to fill an unexpired term, and in 1894 he was elected Recorder of Deeds. He died at his home at Crescent, near St. Louis, May, 1910, after a short illness, and was buried from the Lewis Memorial M. E. Church, South, at that place, which had been erected by him and his brothers. A special train on the Frisco Railroad carried about one hundred of his friends from St. Louis to the funeral ceremonies.

Judge Jesse H. McVeigh, a member of this Society at Hannibal, Missouri, was born in Loudon County, Virginia, May 1, 1824. He studied law in Richmond and was admitted to the bar in 1851. Two years afterwards he came to Paris, Missouri, and practiced law at that place until 1862, a part of the time as partner of Judge Theodore Brace. In 1867 he moved to Hannibal, where he was in business, and served as a member of the Common Council and as presiding judge of the County Court. He was one of the founders of the Hannibal National Bank, and at the time of his death, October 14, 1910, was its vice president. Among the prominent and public spirited men of Hannibal no one was more respected and more worthy of respect than was he.

Col. Jason W. Newell, was born in Utica, New York, in 1834, and educated there; lived in Chilton, Calumet County, Wisconsin, for twenty-five years, and was sheriff of the county one term: 1st lieutenant 21st Wisconsin Infantry; Captain Co. A, 6th U. S. Volunteers; raised 7th Regiment U. S. Volunteers and was appointed Colonel; came to Missouri in 1879; elected to the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth General Assemblies, 1885, 1887; a farmer and Republican. He died at the residence of a daughter at Joplin, November, 1910.

McCullough Selph, a member of this Society at Marshfield, Missouri, was born in Webster County, Missouri, in 1861. He was admitted to the bar and practiced law in that county for several years, being city attorney at Marshfield, and one term the prosecuting attorney of the county. He died at Marshfield, October 7, 1910.

Frederick William Schaurte died December 2, 1910, at Santa Ana, California, and was buried December 8th in Bellefontaine Cemetery, St. Louis, Missouri. He was born December 3, 1836, at Cologne, Germany; came to the United States when about 17 years old, and enlisted in the army as a private November 13, 1854. He was assigned to Company G, Second Infantry, and in the spring of 1855 sent to Fort Pierre, South Dakota. He was engaged in the Indian campaigns against the Sioux, Kiowa and Comanche tribes until the outbreak of the Civil War, operating in the West, and as far south as New Mexico. He attained the rank of orderly sergeant in 1856. Early in 1861 he was commissioned 1st lieutenant, Kansas Volunteer Cavalry, and raised a company which was assigned to duty at Ft. Leavenworth. Early in 1862 this Company was mustered into the Sixth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry as Company F., with Lieutenant Schaurte as Captain. On June 11, 1862, he was also commissioned Second Lieutenant Co. G. 2d U. S. Cavalry. In May, 1862, he was Acting Assistant Adjutant General of Judson's Brigade. In July, 1862, he was ordered to join his command of regulars who were then serving under General Canby in New Mexico, where after a brief period the Command started for the Missouri river, and he accompanied General Canby to Washington City on escort duty. After a temporary assignment on the staff of General Wadsworth of the Army of the Potomac, he was commissioned by President Lincoln Lieutenant Colonel of Volunteers 2d Regiment Cherokee Indian Brigade December 27, 1862. His first duty was service as president of a military commission at Fort Scott; after which he took charge of his regiment at Fort Gibson, and with them participated in all the hard-fought campaigns of the border, until the regiment was mustered out May 31, 1864. He served as Inspector General of Volunteers of the Frontier, with headquarters at Ft. Smith. On March 13th, 1865, he was commissioned Brevet Captain, Major and Lieutenant Colonel in the regular army "for gallant and meritorious service during the war." He was honorably mustered out of the Volunteer Service May 31, 1865, and again engaged in the

Indian campaigns. He was commissioned Captain 2d Cavalry August 31, 1866, and resigned from the army May 7, 1867, having married October 9, 1866, Miss Antoinette Wilcox, of Van Buren, Ark. After some experience as an Arkansas planter, he was appointed U. S. postoffice inspector with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo., in which capacity he served 17 years, having under his supervision the states of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. His record was an exceptional one here, as in the army, because of his untiring capacity for work, his fine intellect and sterling integrity. As a Government official he made an extended acquaintance, and was widely known through the entire southwest. In 1885 he was appointed claim agent of the St. Louis Southwestern railway and later purchasing agent, retiring as such January 1, 1892, which terminated his active business career. For a major portion of the succeeding years until his death he spent the winters at Santa Ana, California. He is survived by his widow and one daughter, the wife of James M. Breckenridge, of St. Louis, Mo., and their three children.

MISSOURI SOCIETY OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

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President.

E. M. Brooks, Oregon,
Vice President.

Eugene Fair, Kirksville,
Secretary.

N. M. Trenholme, Columbia,
Editor.

THE MEETING AT ST. JOSEPH.

The first session of the semi-annual meeting of the Missouri Society of Teachers of History and Government opened on November 10, 1910, in the High School at St. Joseph, and was well

attended. Two valuable reports were made; one dealt with the teaching of history in the high schools of Missouri, the other was concerned with the teaching of history in the elemenary schools of Missouri. Two years ago committees were appointed to deal with these matters. These committees have put forth a fine effort to get information. Following these reports, many questions were asked by various members of the Society. The number who joined the Society after the session was closed indicates the interest taken in history and government. The two chairmen of the committees, Professor Violette, of Kirksville, and Superintendent O'Rear, of Boonville, deserve much credit for their interesting reports.

Professor H. H. Bass, of Warrensburg, was chosen permanent chairman, and Superintendent E. M. Brooks, of Oregon, permanent vice chairman.

The program of the second session was carried out as advertised. Professor Trenholme's paper on "Historical Interpretation of the Existing Political Situation in Great Britain" was well received and was followed by questions and discussion. Among those taking part in the discussion were Dr. Loeb, of Columbia; Superintendent Brooks, of Oregon; Superintendent Little, of Lexington, and Professor Otterson, of Kirksville. Professor Isidor Loeb's paper on "Recent Development in Missouri Political Institutions" was highly interesting and informative in regard to the primary system and the Initiative and Referendum. Discussion followed, which was limited on account of time. Professor Olmstead was asked to make some remarks on the teaching of ancient history. He gave a very interesting discussion on the new viewpoint in the teaching of this subject. His main object was to meet the teachers of ancient history. The Society decided to hold its May meeting at Columbia, Friday afternoon preceding high school day and the Saturday morning of high school day, May 5-6.

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CONTENTS.

Two Missouri Historians, by H. E. Robinson 129

Side Lights on the Missouri Compromise, by Frank H. Hodder - - - - 138

Bryant's Station and Its Fonnder, William Bryant, by Thomas Julian Bryant - 150

John Clark, Pioneer Preacher and Founder of Methodism in Missouri, by Joab Spencer - - - - - - 174

Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, - - - - - 179

Book Notices - - - - - 185

Necrology - - - - - - 187

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 5. APRIL, 1911. NO. 3.

TWO MISSOURI HISTORIANS.

A paper read before the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia, Mo., December 5, 1901.

One of the most important epochs in the history of the United States was that covered by the war of 1861. I do not propose, of course, entering upon a minute examination of the causes that led up to that conflict, but cursory review seems to be essential in the proper presentation of the matter covered by this paper.

The slavery question with its accompanying issues of free trade and state sovereignty, were matters of bitter discussion from the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. I speak advisedly in classing state sovereignty as a side issue of slavery, for, while it was a prime factor in the discussion over the adoption of the Constitution of 1787, after that result, it fell into the background except among the most strenuous upholders of the system of slavery.

The state of Missouri came into being through heated although wordy conflict. Its very existence as a state was through a compromise on the slavery question. And oddly, though perhaps naturally its political history from 1821 to 1861 was so impregnated with bitterness and rancor that the state has been well styled by one of our historians, "A bone of contention."

In 1861 when the fever of secession was rampant in the blood of all who believed thoroughly in the doctrine of states rights, or state sovereignty, Missouri was the most populous as well as one of the most wealthy of the slave holding states. Naturally there was a strong desire on the part of those who were in favor of secession to see Missouri allied with the Southern States. And just as naturally, there was as strong a wish on the part of those who believed in upholding the authority of the Federal government, to hold Missouri on the side of the Union.

It was not strange then that the political contest of 1860, and the preliminary strife of the first months of 1861, in Missouri, were characterized by a struggle in which every inch of ground was disputed, in which the leaders were men of the strongest force, and in which no favors were asked or granted. Each side seemed to realize that as went Missouri so would go the conflict, and their exertions were emphasized by this conclusion.

I think that a careful study of the situation as it then existed will lead any candid mind to the following conclusion: Missouri would have passed an ordinance of secession, and joined her interests with the Southern Confederacy, had it not been for two facts:

First, by some scarcely explainable stupidity, the State Legislature which convened at Jefferson City on the 31st of December, 1860, and which was beyond doubt overwhelmingly in favor of secession, or at least of non-coercion, instead of grappling the situation boldly, temporized by passing an act providing for the election of a convention, and explicity giving to that convention all authority over Federal relations. Members of that convention were chosen on February 18, 1861, and by herculean work on the part of the Union men of Missouri, the 104 members elected were largely opposed to secession. although many of them were slaveholders, and all but 18 were natives of slave holding states. When too late, the friends of secession saw their error, and the more conservative of them realized that they had missed their opportunity.

Second, when on February 6, 1861, a company of regulars, under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, marched into the St. Louis arsenal, the possibility of secession on the part of Missouri became naught. "He was the greatest man I ever saw in my life," says Col. Snead. "I met him on three occasions: at the conference between the Missouri State authorities and himself, on the battlefield of Wilson's Creek, and when I laid him in the grave. All that happened in the space of about three months. I buried him by instructions from General Price, and I said to myself when I put him in the ground: 'That is the greatest enthusiast I ever saw, and the greatest man.'"

What Lyon did can best be shortly told in the words of Col. Snead, an opponent in all the word implies, and hence his testimony lacks any suspicion of partiality. He says:

"By capturing the state militia at Camp Jackson, and driving the Governor from the capital, and all his troops into the uttermost corner of the state, and by holding Price and McCullough at bay, he had given the Union men of Missouri time, opportunity and courage to bring their state convention together again, and had given the convention an excuse and the power to depose Governor Jackson and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds, to vacate the seats of the members of the General Assembly, and to establish a State Government, which was loyal to the Union, and which would use the whole organized power of the State, its treasury, its credit, its militia, and all its great resources, to sustain the Union and crush the South. All this had been done while Lyon was boldly confronting the overwhelming strength of Price and McCullough. Had he abandoned Springfield instead, and opened to Price a pathway to the Missouri; had he not been willing to die for the freedom of the negro, and for the preservation of the Union, none of these things would have then been done. By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and by bravely dying, he had won the fight for Missouri."

The historical importance of the period covered by the war of secession, in its connection with American annals, will

scarcely be disputed. And I am persuaded my hearers will at least partially admit the importance of this epoch that I have claimed for the State of Missouri. This being the case, brings us to the examination of the written history of that period, the prime fact endeavored to be covered by this paper.

There is no other State with whose history I am conversant, that has had so important an era as was that of 1861, covered so thoroughly and so praiseworthily, as has been that of Missouri. Its historians, one writing from the standpoint of an ardent Union man, the other from the view of an equally ardent supporter of secession, although writing two decades apart, each cover the period closing with the death of General Lyon on the tenth day of August, 1861, at Wilson's Creek. Thus seemingly they are agreed upon one point, that those few pregnant months settled the fate of Missouri and of the nation.

In point of time the Union history appeared first. In 1866 was published in New York a book entitled "Gen. Nathaniel Lyon and Missouri in 1861. A Monograph of the Great Rebellion. By James Peckham, formerly Lt. Col. 8th Infantry, Mo. Vols."

James Peckham was a native of New York state. When but a young man he came to Missouri, and he was the first telegraph operator ever stationed at Boonville. He moved to St. Louis and studied law, and in 1860 was elected to the Missouri Legislature from that city. He was a member of the parent company of Union men enrolled at St. Louis early in 1861, under Captain Frank P. Blair. He entered the United States service early, and after becoming Lt. Col. of the 8th Missouri Infantry he resigned and became Colonel of the 29th Missouri Infantry, which position he filled until 1864 when he again resigned. The remainder of his life was spent in the practice of law in St. Louis, where he died in 1883, and where a monument to his memory is erected in Bellefontaine cemetery. His widow still resides in St. Louis. Col. Peckham was a man of wit and good fellowship, although somewhat erratic by nature. His old associates seem to be united in

saying that he was somewhat elusive, disappearing from view at times for several days, and not very easy to become acquainted with.

His history of Missouri in 1861 is a mass of documents and facts that can not be obtained elsewhere. Original orders, letters, proceedings of various committees and the like, fill the 400 pages of his book to such repletion that Col. Snead admits his indebtedness to it as "a book whose glaring faults are more than compensated by the important facts the remembrance whereof it has preserved."

Said a Jefferson City correspondent of the Missouri Democrat, under date of May 11, 1861:

"From what I overhear, I take it as a fact that a bill has passed appropriating money for the purpose of inducing the savage Indian tribes to the west of us to make a descent upon Kansas and Iowa. I heard Mr. Peckham denounce to a secessionist the heathenism of such a law, and the response he received was as follows: "It will be d—d lucky for you fellows, if worse things than that ain't done to you before we are through with this thing."

Among the most valuable documents preserved for the historian by Col. Peckham were scores of letters sent from almost every section of Missouri to Col. F. P. Blair, which illustrate fully the feeling of unrest and solicitude which then prevailed. As Col. Peckham states, these selections were made "from several bushels of letters sent to Col. Blair at that time," and it is a source of much regert that more of this correspondence was not preserved. As it is we are under obligations to Colonel Peckham for the little we have.

As corroborative of the statement toward the first of this paper, that the legislature of 1861 was overwhelmingly in favor of secession, I will here quote a passage from Col. Peckham's book concerning the organization of that body, of which he was a member:

"On the 2d of January an election for permanent officers was held in the House, and the successful candidates were entirely of the secession mould. Speaker McAfee was an un-

disguised secessionist. The vote for speaker stood thus: McAfee, 76; all others, 48. On the morning of the 3d the Lieut. Governor issued a private circular which was placed on the desks of certain Senators, inviting to his room all those Senators who were in hearty sympathy with "our Southern brethren," and who were 'firmly determined to see our sister states secure their rights,' for the purpose of making up the Senate committees. Of all the officers and clerks of both branches of the Legislature, I know of but one who was not an avowed secessionist."

In some respects Col. Snead, who has given us the history of the same period from a Confederate standpoint, was more fortunate than his predecessor. He had the advantage of all the documentary matter preserved by the former, as well as much other which had been brought to light, and the passions engendered by a cruel war had somewhat cooled, so that, taken as a whole, his book is more critical, and possesses more of a historical tone, than did that of Col. Peckham.

In fact, Col. Snead's book, which was published in New York in 1886, under the title "The Fight for Missouri From the Election of Lincoln to the Death of Lyon. By Thomas L. Snead, A. D. C. of the Governor; Acting Adjutant General of the Missouri State Guard; Chief of Staff of the Army of the West; Member of the Confederate Congress," is so fair, while presenting his view of the conflict, and so generous in ascribing merit to his opponents, that there is a well substantiated belief on the part of many that to this cause is to be ascribed the failure of Col. Snead's book to receive the recognition from his fellows that he thought it deserved, and which was certainly its due.

Thomas Lowndes Snead was born in Richmond, Virginia, in 1827. He was graduated from the University of Virginia, and came to Missouri in 1851, settling in St. Louis. While waiting for practice he clerked for awhile in the Court House, and then entered into partnership with Judge Wickham. In November, 1852, he was married to Miss Harriet V. Reel. He practiced law in St. Louis until 1861, and, as was frequently

the case then with young lawyers, engaged ardently in newspaper political work, becoming editor of the St. Louis Bulletin, which earnestly supported Breckenridge for the presidency. As illustrative of the position of the Breckenridge democracy at that time, I quote from Col. Snead's preface:

"We believed that the slave holding states could not remain in the Union, with either safety or honor, unless the North should consent to give them Constitutional guarantees that their rights as coequal States of the Union should be both respected and protected by the Federal Government, and because we thought that his question should be plainly submitted to the North in the then pending presidential election, and a positive answer demanded. As Mr. Douglas' candidacy, with his policy of equivocation, prevented this question from being put fairly to the North, we opposed him and everybody who supported him."

As further illustrating the spirit which prevailed in those days, I may be pardoned for introducing the following parenthetical statement:

The St. Louis Bulletin was then owned by Eugene Longuemare, who appears to have been a hot headed secessionist. He attended the Democratic National convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, with others from Missouri, and while there became engaged in a political controversy with General James Craig, of St. Joseph, who was one of the delegates from Missouri to that convention. The dispute went to such an extent that Longuemare challenged General Craig to mortal combat, and it was only by the cooler counsels of John B. Clark, of Fayette, and others, that the meeting was averted.

Col. Snead became private secretary to Governor Claiborne F. Jackson early in 1861. He then entered military service as aid to General Sterling Price, and remained with him until the summer of 1864, when he entered the Confederate Congress as a member from Missouri. After General Price came back to the United States from Mexico, where he had gone at the close of the war, he turned over all his records and papers to

Col. Snead, with the understanding that the latter was to write the history of Missouri in the Confederacy.

Col. Snead moved to New York City after the close of the war, in 1865, and took the editorship of the Daily News. Two years later he resumed the practice of law and pursued his literary researches. On October 17, 1890, he died suddenly, from heart disease. His remains were brought to St. Louis for burial. He left a widow and two children, who are living now in New Jersey. He left the manuscript covering the history of Missouri in the Confederacy, which is still in the possession of his widow. It had been his aim to publish this, but disappointment at the cool reception accorded to his first volume, caused him to reconsider his determination, an act by which, I think, the world has been the loser.

Said Col. Snead's brother-in-law to me: "He was of a most loveable disposition, and it was impossible for him, while being an intense partisan, to be otherwise than fair. I remember once in 1862, he was at Little Rock, Arkansas, and his wife went to see him. She made a remark to him one day that she would think he would 'just hate the Yankees.' To which he replied that he could hate nobody, for all could not think alike. And so he continued through life, loving and being loved."

Col. Snead rests where he would have chosen to be laid away, in beautiful Bellefontaine cemetery in St. Louis, in the state of his adoption. He and Col. Peckham, soldierly antagonists, rival historians, preservers of the annals of opposing sides, sleep their last sleep in the same field.

As a fitting parallel with Col. Snead's fine tribute to General Lyon, quoted before, I will close with his equally eloquent judgment passed upon General Sterling Price, after the battle of Wilson's Creek:

"Of danger he seemed to take no note, but he had none of the brilliant dash, of that fine frenzy of the fight, which men call gallantry, for he was great rather than brilliant. He was wise, too, and extremely brave, quick to see, prompt to act, and always right. From this time he was loved and trusted

by his soldiers, as no Missourian had ever been; and never thereafter did he lose their trust and devotion, for throughout all the long years of war—years crowded with victories and with defeats—the virtues which he displayed that day grew more conspicuous all the time, while around then clustered others which increased the splendor of these—unselfish devotion to his native land, unending care for the men who fought under his flag, constancy under defeat, patience under wrongs that were grevious, justice toward all men, and kindness toward everyone."

H. E. ROBINSON.

SIDE LIGHTS ON THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The Missouri compromises have been fully exploited on the federal side, but from the stand point of the territory little or nothing has been written respecting them. Missouri newspapers drew their reports of the progress of events from their Eastern exchanges and from occasional private letters. The mails required from four to five weeks in transmission and when they failed, as they frequently did, the Missouri editor filled his columns with "elegant extracts" from British classics. Proceedings in Congress were reprinted from the National Intelligencer, but on one occasion "Mr. Gales was indisposed" and the debates were unreported for a week. (1) There was great disappointment in the territory when the fifteenth Congress adjourned without agreeing upon an enabling act and indignation meetings were held in several counties. A meeting in Montgomery County, April 28th, 1819,

Resolved that the restriction attempted to be imposed upon the people of this territory, as a condition of their admission into the union, is a daring stretch of power, an usurpation of our sacred rights, unprecedented, unconstitutional, and in open violation of the third article of the treaty of cession entered into with France. (2)

Similar resolutions were passed in Howard county in June, in Washington county in July, and on September 14th the inhabitants of New Madrid county declared that they would be admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the original states or not at all. (3) Later in the month a petition was gotten up which proposed to solve the difficulty by dividing the territory by the line of the Missouri river and erecting the

1. Missouri Enquirer, February 26, 1820.
2. Missouri Gazette, May 19, 1819.
3. St. Louis Enquirer, October 6, 1819.

northern part into a free and the southern part into a slave state, but the suggestion found little favor.

Editorial comment varied with the point of view. The Missouri Intelligencer, published at Franklin, attributed the failure of the Missouri bill to Eastern jealousy of Western development as follows:

"The restriction attempted to be imposed upon us by the seventy-eight (4) members of the House of Representatives who voted for it, were those exclusively of the **eastern states.** They view with a jealous eye the march of power westward, and are well aware the preponderance will soon be against them; therefore they have combined against us; but let them pause before they proceed further, or the grave they are preparing for us, may be their own sepulchre! As well might they arrest the course of the ocean that wash their barren shores, as to check our future growth. Emigration will continue with a giant stride until the wilderness shall be a wilderness no more; but in its stead will arise flourishing towns, cultivated farms, & peace, plenty and happiness smile on the land. Let those who are raised by the voice of the people to watch over and protect their rights and liberties, beware how they abuse so sacred a trust, lest they find in every injured freeman the spirit of a Hampden rise and hurl them from their posts." (5)

The editor of the St. Louis Enquirer emphasized the element of sectional rivalry and States rights.

"No people," he said "ever understood a political question better than the people of Missouri understand this. They know that, as it affects the Slaves, it is only a question of the **place** in which they shall live and can neither diminish their numbers nor better their condition; as it affects the Republic, it is a question of political powers between the Northern and Southern interests; and as it affects the State of Missouri, it is simply and nakedly a question of State Sovereignty, an experiment on the part of Congress to commence the business of making constitutions for the states, after having seized upon the power of making Presidents for the people." (6)

4. This number should be eighty-seven.
5. Missouri Intelligencer, May 17, 1819.
6. St. Louis Enquirer, November 10, 1819.

As the struggle was more and more protracted public opinion became more and more excited. January 26, 1820, the St. Louis Enquirer charged that the postponement of the Missouri question until after the holidays was "a trick to delay the decision until the Northern states could 'lash into the ranks' such of their members as would not vote with them last year," particularly Holmes and Shaw, of Massachusetts, Storrs, of New York, Baldwin, of Pennsylvania, McLean, of Delaware, and Bloomfield, of New Jersey. When by the 25th of March no report of the passage of the Missouri bill was received, the editor of the Enquirer became hysterical:

"If Missouri," he said, "is conquered by the people of the North, no matter whether it be done by votes at Washington or by intrigues at home—the result will be the same and the consequences equally calamitous to the territory and the Union. The balance of power will be overturned; all check to the criminal design of these men will be removed; and their desperate designs will be as readily executed as they are now openly avowed. The Louisiana treaty will be a nullity and its territory sold out to some foreign bidder or held and governed at will as a conquered dominion. The liberty of the blacks will be proclaimed; lighted torches will be put into the hands of slaves to rouse their sleeping masters from their beds amid the flames of their houses and the cries of their slaughtered children."

It was darkest before dawn. Four days later the news came that the Missouri bill had passed without restriction as to slavery nearly a month before. The transition from despair to ecstacy was instant. The Southern members had stood "united as a Spartan band, forty days in the pass of Thermopolae, defending the People of Missouri, the Treaty of Cession and the Constitution of the Republic." To the Northern members, who had voted against restriction, there should, in the language of Barbour, "be erected an imperishable monument of everlasting fame." (7) April 30 the town of St.

7. Six Senators and fourteen Representatives from Northern states voted against restriction. The Senators were Hunter, of Rhode Island; Lanman, of Connecticut; Parrott, of New Jersey; Palmer, of Vermont, and Edwards and Thomas, of Illinois. The Representatives were Hill, Holmes, Mason and

Louis was illuminated and transparencies displayed the names of the Northern men who had voted against restriction. The name of Senator Lanman, of Connecticut, who had been burned in effigy at Hartford, was most conspicuous. Some proposed to burn an effigy of Senator King, of New York, by way of retaliation but better counsels prevailed. (8)

In the ensuing constitutional election slavery was the paramount issue. In St. Louis Judge John B. C. Lucas, whose son, Benton, had been killed in a duel, headed an independent ticket "opposed to the further introduction of slaves into Missouri." Rector, Sullivan, Pratte, Barton, McNair, Bates, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Riddick, nominated by the "lawyer junto," made up the opposing ticket. Benton aspired to an election, but, failing of a regular nomination, withdrew from the contest. (9) The Missouri Gazette and the St. Louis Enquirer were the respective organs of the two factions. Among the workers on the anti-slavery side was Benjamin Lundy. The election was held from the first to the third of May. In St. Louis the pro-slavery vote was double that of the restrictionists. Of the thirty-nine delegates elected to the convention in the whole territory only one was opposed to slavery. (10) The result seems to have been due not so much to any very strong sentiment in favor of slavery as to a fierce resentment bred by the Congressional attempt at dictation.

The constitutional convention met in St. Louis, June 12, the day prescribed by the enabling act, and organized by the election of David Barton as president. It "has passed into history," that the constitution was chiefly the work of Barton. Darby says that "the most important provisions were framed by him and from that day to the present it has been known as the Barton constitution." (11) and this statement is repeated in

Shaw, of Massachusetts; Eddy, of Rhode Island; Foote and Stevens, of Connecticut; Meige and Storrs, of New York; Bloomfield, Kinsey and Smith, of New Jersey; and Baldwin and Fullerton, of Pennsylvania. Adding the two Senators and one Representative from Delaware increases the number to eight and fifteen, respectively.

8. Missouri Enquirer, March 29, April 1, 1820.
9. Missouri Enquirer, April 26, 1820.
10. Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles, who had come to Missouri from Vermont.
11. Personal Recollections, p. 28.

nearly every history of Missouri. The meagre record of the Journal (12) furnishes no support for it. It would seem to be the result of confusing the authorship of the constitution with the name given to the convention by reason of Barton's having been its presiding officer.

As far as one can judge from the Journal, Mr. Edward Bates, afterward attorney general in Lincoln's cabinet, was the leading spirit in the convention. He took the first step toward framing a constitution by moving the appointment of a committee for the purpose. It was decided to divide the work between four committees, which reported to a central one, and the resulting document was referred for final revision to a committee of which Mr. Bates was chairman, so that Mr. Bates occupies with reference to the first constitution of Missouri the position which Gouveneur Morris occupies with reference to the Constitution of the United States.

There can be little pride of authorship in the first constitution of Missouri. Although Hildreth (13) noted that it was "copied in most respects from the constitution of Kentucky," the extent to which that was the case has been lost sight of. Its most original provision was a defiant preamble which declared that

"We, the people of Missouri....by our representatives in convention assembled....do mutually agree to form and establish a free and independent republic, by the name of the "State of Missouri" and for the government thereof do ordain and establish this constitution."

The exclusion of the clergy from the general assembly, although favored by local conditions, was taken from the constitution of Kentucky. The article respecting the power of the general assembly over slavery was the same as article VII of the constitution of Kentucky, except for the addition:

12. Journal of the Missouri State Convention. St. Louis 1820. Photo-facsimile reprint. Theo. L. Cole. Washington, D. C., 1905. Only three copies of the original edition are extant.
13. History of the United States. Vol. 6, p. 703.

It shall be their duty to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the state on any pretext whatever.

With the exception of an enlargement of the judiciary by the addition of a court of chancery, the constitution of Missouri was practically the same as that of Kentucky. (14)

In his speech at Jefferson City twenty-nine years afterward, in his Thirty Years' View, and repeatedly in private letters during his later life, Benton claimed to have secured, although not a member of the convention, the adoption of the clause which prohibited legislative emancipation of slaves without the consent of their owners and without compensation. It was Benton's greatest foible that he came to think that he had originated nearly every important measure of American history. Bagehot remarks that Gibbon was unable to tell the difference between himself and the Roman Empire. Still less was Benton able to distinguish between himself and the United States. (15) Inasmuch as the constitutional limitation upon legislative emancipation was a part of article VII of the Kentucky constitution, which the Missouri convention borrowed **en bloc,** it is scarcely possible that Benton could have had anything to do with its adoption.

The Missouri constitution was enacted without being referred to a popular vote, a State government and a representative in Congress were elected and the legislature chose Barton and Benton United States senators, the former unanimously and the latter after a violent contest. Both senators-elect repaired to Washington and, in frequent letters to the Missouri newspapers, set forth their views of the animus of the renewed opposition to the admission of the State. These let-

14. Sixteen members of the Convention were Virginians and eight, the next largest number from a single state, were born in Kentucky. Missouri Enquirer, June 17, 1820.

15. In a remarkable passage in the autobiographical sketch, prefixed to some editions of his Thirty Years' View, Benton said of himself:

> "The bare enumeration of the measures of which he was the author and the prime mover would be almost a history of Congress legislation—the enumeration is unnecessary: the long list is known throughout the length and breadth of the land—repeated with the familiarity of household words from the great cities on the seaboard to the lonly cabins on the frontier—and studied by the little boys who feel an honorable ambition beginning to stir within their bosoms and a laudable desire to learn something of the history of their country."

ters are perhaps a safer guide to the course of events than the speeches reported in the Annals of Congress, inasmuch as Niles's Register complains at this time that it is "notorious that many speeches are made only for the newspapers and are hardly listened to by half a dozen in either house. (16)

November 22d Benton wrote to the editor of the Missouri Intelligencer:

The committees appointed to examine the Missouri constitution will report tomorrow. Both committees will report in favor of admitting the state. In the Senate we apprehend no difficulty. In the House of Representatives the struggle of last winter will be renewed and it is apprehended that the restrictionists will predominate. The vote was very close last winter, and since then we have lost several friends from the north, who have been constrained by their constituents to abandon their seats. They make a pretext of that part of our constitution which provides for keeping out free negroes and mulattoes, when almost every state in the Union, even the free states themselves, have the same provision as will be fully shown in the course of the debates here. (17)

December 12 the Senate resolution for the admission of Missouri was passed and on the next day the House resolution for the same purpose was rejected.

December 25, one of the Missouri Senators, apparently Barton, wrote the following analysis of the situation "to a gentleman" at home:

"When we arrived here a copy of our Constitution was presented in each house of Congress; and their committees made separate reports; both in favor of our admission as a state. The resolution of the Senate passed, ayes 26, noes 18. The resolution of the House of Representatives was rejected, ayes 79, noes 93—14 majority against us. At this vote Clay, of Kentucky, and five other southern friends were absent; so that the nation seems to be almost equally divided on this question. Some of the northern states have instructed their members to vote against us; in these instructions they go back to their old ground of restriction, and some even take the

16. Nile's Register, October 21, 1820.
17. Missouri Intelligencer, January 1, 1821.

ground of universal emancipation. They also make a pretext of the clause of our constitution to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming and settling among us, although every state in the Union has taken the same precaution to keep out the refuse and dangerous population of their neighboring states. This, however, is pretty clearly only a disguise for the iniquity of their real motives. The truth is that the northern states have a small majority in the national councils; and they wish to preserve it by crippling the growth of the west and preventing the increase of new states, unless like Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, they will become mere appendages to the North; and by their institutions virtually exclude the immigration of their brethren and friends from the southern and western states.

"I think, however, their courage will not equal their villainy; and that we shall yet be admitted; probably not until another object is effected by getting the treaty of Mr. Adams with Spain ratified by our Senate. This treaty proposes to give off of our southern border country enough to form several new states at a future day; by thus curtailing the outlet of the South and West, and by excluding them from the countries west and north of Missouri by the odious restriction of last session, the preponderance of the North is to be perpetuated. This may be considered a twin brother to the opposition to Missouri, both having the same object. A few votes in such a case might turn a national scale." (18)

The Senate resolution was not taken up in the House until January 12, 1821. On the 16th Clay returned to Congress and essayed the role of peacemaker. February 2 he secured the reference of the Senate resolution to a committee of thirteen, which on the 10th reported a compromise resolution for the admission of Missouri on the condition that the State should never pass any law preventing any persons who were citizens of other states from settling within her limits, and that the State legislature by a solemn public act should give its assent to this condition. On the following day (February 11) Senator Barton wrote to his constituents:

"On the last discussion of this subject, Mr. Sergeant, of Philadelphia, who has attempted to be a leader of the anti-

18. Missouri Intelligencer, January 29, 1821. The letter is erroneously dated January instead of December.

Missourians drew aside the veil and gave us a glimpse of 'Hartford Convention,' revised and corrected. He declared that he would vote against the resolution, however it might be amended—that he thought nothing ought to be done on the subject at this session, but left to a new Congress to determine how far they were bound by the act of the last session, and whether Missouri should be admitted at all without a prohibition of slavery in her constitution. He suggested as a new reason for such a course, that Florida would probably soon apply for admission under infinitely stronger claims for admitting slaveholding population, than Missouri can urge; and that a just "balance of power" ought to be preserved.

"These free negro apostles indulge the delusive hope that a revolution of sentiment can be effected in Missouri. They are led to the belief (probably by one of those foreigners, both by birth and principle; or one of those political preachers, who have done so much to injure our character and state) that large minorities in favor of restriction exist in each county. Encouraged by such hopes, and being wholly free from the embarrassments of political honesty and public faith, the leaders in the House of Representatives are endeavoring to secure themselves the benefits of an open question and a new struggle in the succeeding Congress. It is not believed, however, that the honest republicans of the north, thus advised of their ultimate objects, will go with them thro' their criminal course." (19)

The compromise resolutions were, however, defeated in the House on February 12 by a vote of 80 to 83, and upon reconsideration on the next day thereafter by a vote of 82 to 88. (20) The defeat of the resolution was due to the opposition of John Randolph and his adherents, who refused to assent to the imposition of any condition, however meaningless, upon the admission of a State. February 21 the situation was brought to a crisis by the motion of Brown, of Kentucky, to repeal the first compromise—a motion which he consented to postpone at the request of Baldwin, of Pennsylvania. On the next day the President announced the exchange of ratifications

19. Missouri Intelligencer, April 16, 1821.

20. In the vote upon reconsideration, four new names were recorded in the affirmative and five new ones in the negative, one member upon each side did not vote and Garnett, of Virginia, changed from the affirmative to the negative.

of the Florida treaty, whereupon Clay judged that the moment was opportune for a motion for a joint committee of the two houses to consider whether or not it was expedient to make provision for the admission of Missouri. February 26 the joint committee reported a resolution, substantially equivalent to the resolution of the House committee of thirteen, and the resolution was immediately agreed to by a vote of 86 to 82. Every Southern member voted in the affirmative, with the exception of Randolph, who voted "no" to the last, and of the members from Delaware, who refrained from voting at all. Eighteen northern votes made up the majority. (21)

The result was accomplished by the change of four votes: those of Edwards, of North Carolina, and of Samuel Moore, Rogers and Udree, of Pennsylvania. Edwards deserted Randolph, doubtless convinced that the substance was more important than the form, although he had declared in the House that he would never consent to establish the principle of imposing a condition upon the admission of a state. Moore, Rogers, and Baldwin were all members of the joint committee. Circumstances point to Baldwin as having secured the Pennsylvania votes. He was immediately thereafter appointed a justice of the United States Supreme Court, possibly as a reward for having "saved the country." (22) How far the ratification of the Florida treaty contributed to the result must be a matter of conjecture but it is rather remarkable that the turn in the tide, as predicted by Barton, came with its announcement.

A special session of the Missouri legislature was called at St. Charles to consider "great and weighty matters," and this session passed an extraordinary act, which declared that the act was itself unnecessary, that Congress had no right to require it, but that as it would not be binding, they would never-

21. The Northern votes were those of Hill and Shaw, of Massachusetts; Eddy, of Rhode Island; Stroms, of Connecticut; Clark, Ford, Guyon, Hackley, Meige and Storrs, of New York; Bateman, Bloomfield, Smith and Southard, of New Jersey; Baldwin, Samuel Moore, Rogers and Udree, of Pennsylvania. McLane, of Delaware, did not vote. The vote upon final passage stood 87 to 81. Garnett, of Virginia, refrained from voting in the negative and the vote of Hall, of North Carolina, was added to the affirmative.

22. The possibility of his appointment to succeed Gallatin in Paris, was discussed in the newspapers.

theless declare that the clause of the State constitution, designated by Congress, would never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of any of the United States would ever be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which he was entitled under the constitution of the United States. Immediately upon the receipt of this act the President proclaimed the admission of Missouri.

But slight attention has been directed to the fact that the resolution of the joint committee, which Congress had adopted, did not correctly designate the clause in the constitution of Missouri to which exception had been taken, which instead of being the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article, was properly the first clause of the third sub-division of this section. This erroneous designation was the result of the fact, that, in the peculiar form in which the constitution was printed for the use of Congress, (23) the objectionable clause was marked by the fourth indentation in the margin of this section. The discrepancy would be of no importance, had there not grown up in Missouri a tradition that it was noticed in the State legislature, and that the declaratory act was passed as a result of it. The only evidence in support of this tradition is a letter written in 1892 by Judge Samuel Treat in which he said that the declaratory act was drawn by Henry S. Geyer, who stated to him "that the strange mis-recital was observed by the general assembly and that it materially aided in securing the passage of the act." (24) The supposition that the act was intended to be an evasion of this sort is unsupported by any contemporary evidence, and is distinctly negatived by the report (25) that accompanied the act, which speaks of "the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article....upon the subject of prohibiting the emigration of free negroes and mulattoes into the state." It must therefore be concluded either that the Missouri legislature, in common with nearly all writers on

23. Senate doc. 1 and House doc. 2, second session, Sixteenth Congress.
24. Proceedings Mass. Hist. Society for February, 1900, second series, vol. 13, p. 454. Geyer in 1851 succeeded Benton in the United States Senate.
25. Printed in Missouri Intelligencer, June 18, 1821.

the subject of the Missouri compromise ever since, failed to notice the inaccuracy in the act of Congress, or if it was noticed, that they took no account of it.

It remains only to be said that Missouri accomplished her purpose in spite of the act of Congress. A State act of 1825 (26) "concerning negroes and mulattoes" excluded such persons from the State unless citizens of another State, in which case they were required to prove their citizenship by presenting naturalization papers. While such persons were regarded as citizens in some States, they were never naturalized and therefore could not present naturalization papers. In 1847 it was more positively provided that "No free negro nor mulatto shall under any pretext emigrate into this State from any State or territory" (27) and this act remained upon the statute book until the Civil War drew to a close. (28)

FRANK H. HODDER.

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26. R. L. Mo., 1825, p. 600.
27. R. S. Mo., 1855, p. 1101.
28. Repealed February 20, 1865. Laws of Mo., 1865, p. 66.

BRYANT'S STATION AND ITS FOUNDER, WILLIAM BRYANT.

We are told upon good authority (1) that the final letter of the name of Bryant, is excrescent. It should be remembered, however, that the extension occurred so long ago, (in fact in the days when Knighthood was in Flower) that Bryant has for centuries constituted a distinctive name. And the reader who would arrive at any intelligent undertsanding of the name as applied to the pioneer Kentucky fort, known as Bryant's Station, should bear this fact in mind. Any attempt to play upon the different forms which the name may have assumed in the progress of centuries, is calculated only to confuse the issues involved, and if any person or persons hope to profit by such confusion, it can not be those who are descended from William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station, nor any one who possesses the spirit of the true historian.

I have heretofore shown by a train of facts, which to my own mind are conclusive, and which I think should be conclusive to every fair and candid mind, that the proper name of the pioneer Kentucky fort which was besieged by the Indians in August, 1782, was Bryant's Station, and that the distinctive name of its founder was William Bryant. (2) And these facts being established upon broad and ample authority, what then shall be said relative to the statements of some Kentucky historians, who in their writings have dealt with this subject? For it is apparent that some of them have simply followed in the paths of those who preceded them, without due inquiry as to the correctness of certain statements; while one or two writers have seemingly played the role of mere partisans, intent upon establishing out of the confusion which has been wrought, not that the name of the place was other than

1. Bardsley.
2. Missouri Historical Review, October, 1908.
   Missouri Historical Review, July, 1910.

Bryant's Station, nor that the name of its founder was other than William Bryant, but that perforce, they should have been other than these. And if, when I have finished, I have not cleared the field of much or all of this needless confusion, I shall have written to little purpose, and my readers shall have read to little advantage.

It matters not whether this confusion was first projected in certain cases which were carried to the Kentucky Court of Appeals, heretofore cited, in which **copies** of land certificates not in conformity with the originals were introduced, or later in the form of mere newspaper articles, or in recent years in the more enduring form of an historical publication and at the same time being engraven upon a memorial wall of stone placed round the spring at Bryant's Station, the errors which they carried with them are errors none the less, and were so recognized and regarded when they were first promulgated, and they become none the less so with the lapse of time. And as every individual or society of individuals who would instruct the public in matters of history, must be held responsible for their teachings, and must ultimately rely upon the accuracy thereof for belief, due regard for well established and well known **facts**, should always be had. And when such does not happen to be the case, it can scarcely be deemed amiss to correct any and all erroneous impressions thereby created, and thus give those who have either perpetrated or perpetuated errors, the opportunity of correcting the same, or of placing the public in possession of reasons sufficiently convincing, not to themselves alone, but to the public also, to justify them in ignoring the authority of historians uniformly for a period of ninety years, and of historians with but few exceptions for a period of one hundred and twelve years.

In the following article, therefore, I desire to direct the reader's attention specifically to certain inaccuracies which have made their appearance from time to time in various publications, to the end that they shall stand corrected in any event, whether corrected by those responsible for their existance or not.

When, in what manner, and by whom then, were any erroneous impressions introduced, regarding Bryant's Station, and its founder, William Bryant? These impressions were brought about, as I believe, in a most peculiar manner, and it is my purpose to now show how they originated.

Land Certificates and Court Decisions.

We have heretofore seen that the original land certificates issued to the settlers of Kentucky by the Land Commissioners who held their Court at Bryant's Station in 1779 and 1780, called the station Bryant's, and that Col. William Fleming, one of the Commissioners, entered the name of the station as Bryant in his Journal. The name Bryant therefore was the proper and official name of the station. We have further seen, however, that in certain cases involving title to lands in the vicinity of the station, and which were carried to the Kentucky Court of Appeals, copies of some of these land certificates were introduced, which called the station, not by its proper and official name, but by a similar yet different name. But we have also seen that these errors, which were immediately recognized as being such, were quite generally disregarded in subsequent cases in the Court of Appeals, and in decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. And the frequent use of the name Bryant's Station, in the Kentucky Court of Appeals, notwithstanding the erroneous name which had been introduced, and the use of the name Bryant's Station, in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, well nigh amounts to a judicial determination of the fact that the proper name of the station was Bryant's.

The Kentucky Historians.

We have also seen that the historians of Kentucky, as well as the biographers of Daniel Boone, likewise disregarding the erroneous name, and other errors, hereafter mentioned, for a period of ninety years uniformly called the station Bryant's and gave the name of its founder as William Bryant, and this,

notwithstanding the fact that numerous members of a family of similar name had entered land in the neighborhood of Bryant's Station, and had figured as complainants in some of the cases heretofore referred to wherein the name of the station had been changed, and were closely related by ties of marriage to Daniel Boone.

And I now come to the consideration of certain statements by a writer who really introduced about all the confusion regarding this subject, to be found either in historical publications or documents.

A Series of Newspaper Articles.

In 1826, and subsequent years, there appeared in the Kentucky Gazette, a series of newspaper articles (3) in which the writer of these articles gave an account of the founding of Bryant's Station, of a certain hunting expedition in May, 1780, of the siege of the station in August, 1782, and of the battle of the Blue Licks. I would attach only such weight to these newspaper articles as others have attached to them, and as is generally attached to newspaper articles when considered from an historical standpoint, were it not for the fact that in recent years, they have evidently been given undue importance by a Kentucky historian, who apparently knew nothing of facts which have come to light, which clearly show the inaccuracies contained in these newspaper articles; and by another historian, who if of lesser note than the former, was at any rate familiar with the facts above referred to, but who placed upon these facts a construction well calculated to further mislead the public, for the reason that his misconception of the facts was incorporated into and became a part of an authentic history of Bryant's Station. (4)

Of the siege of Bryant's Station, and of the battle of the Blue Licks, the author of these newspaper articles, may have spoken from personal knowledge of the events. But of the founding of the station, and of the hunting expedition, it

3. Bradford's "Notes."
4. Mr. G. W. Ranck, in Filson Club Publication No. 12.

would seem that he must have derived his information from some one else. And it is worthy of note in passing that this man was one of the persons who figured in some of the land cases heretofore alluded to in which the station was called by a different name. The source of his information is not revealed. But whether based upon personal knowledge of the events, or whether he received his information from others, some of his statements were so obviously at variance with the known facts, that they could have emanated only from some one either laboring under grave misapprehension or seeking to give coloring to events not warranted by the facts. It is possible that this writer himself may have been misled by names which are **idem sonans.** Nevertheless, it would appear from certain statements made by him, that had he chosen to deliberately mislead the public, he could scarcely have adopted a more skillful plan for doing so. These statements, however, are not supported by the facts, and inquiry as to the correctness of his assertions is not precluded, as, fortunately we are not dependant upon his uncorroborated statements alone for our information, regarding either the founder of the station or the station itself.

Mere assertions, however high the source from whence they come, or however conscientionsly they may have been made, can be given little or no weight, when clearly contradicted by indisputable and oft recurring facts. There is a broad and well defined difference between facts and mere assertions, which the discriminating reader will scarcely fail to recognize. For matters of fact are peculiarly free from the bias and self interest that too often distinguish humankind.

Prior to the appearance of these articles, the name of Bryant's Station had become permanently fixed in Court decisions, and in Kentucky history in at least two historical publications, (5) upon the authority of, and with the express sanction and approval of John Filson, Humphrey Marshall and Daniel Boone all of whom had equal if not better opportunity of learning the correct name than Bradford. Marshall had

5. Filson's Narrative.
History of Kentucky, Humphrey Marshall.

briefly stated that Bryant's Station was founded in 1779 by the Bryants, who later abandoned the place under an apprehension of danger from the Indians. If any other persons of similar name were included in this statement, it is apparent that their distinctive name was unknown to this writer. But he was certain of the name of the place and of the distinctive name of the person or persons who built the station. And although no one up to this time apparently had specifically made known to history the name of the principal man of the place, it is a fact that the name of William Bryant could not have been unknown to many persons then living, and his is the only name which really appears to have been known to any persons entitled to be considered contemporary historians, (6) with the exception of the writer of these newspaper articles. And there is good reason to believe that William Bryant was the only man by the distinctive name of Bryant connected with Bryant's Station. This was his name from the time he first appears upon the scene, several years prior to the building of the station, and is the only name which has continued to be so known to the present time.

But at this juncture, the writer of these newspaper articles gives to the public certain statements, supplementing the erroneous name in the Kentucky Court of Appeals, as follows:

"The first permanent settlement made at Bryan's Station was in 1779, principally by emigrants from North Carolina, the most conspicuous of whom were the family of Bryan's from whom the place took its name. There were four brothers, viz: Morgan, James, William and Joseph, all respectable, in easy circumstances, with large families of children and mostly grown. William, though not the oldest brother, was the most active and considered their leader. His wife was a sister of Col. Daniel Boone, as was also the wife of Mr. William Grant who likewise settled at Bryan's Station in 1779."

Here, then, we come to the parting of the ways.

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6. Autobiography of Col. Cave Johnson, MS.
Sketches of Western Adventure, McClung.
Chronicles of Border Warfare, A. S. Withers (new ed. Thwaites).

It will be observed at once that this writer called the station, not by its proper name, but by a similar yet different name. And likewise made it appear that its principal man, who was one of four brothers who had entered land (as we have heretofore seen) in the vicinity of Bryant's Station, was a person whose name was almost identical with that of William Bryant. Whether intended to be so or not, this statement amounted to a substitution upon the part of this writer of a similar name for the proper name of the station, and the substitution of a similar name for the distinctive name of its founder. How easy it was then for the writers who followed him to be misled as to the facts. And such was actually what happened. But the reader should bear in mind that they were not misled as to the name either of the station or of its founder, about which there was no doubt whatever in the mind of any contemporary writer, or in the mind of any subsequent writer until comparatively recent years, which we shall notice hereafter; and until certain confusion had found its way into history regarding the station and its founder, as the result of the foregoing statement upon the part of the above named writer. There was no attempt to explain why the station had previously been called Bryant's in Court decisions and in history, and he therefore must have intended that the reader should infer that the name used by him was the same at that used by the historians, although each is a distinct family name.

What, then, was the result of this statement?

Having introduced a name which though similar to the proper name of the station, and having introduced as its principal man a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone, whose distinctive name, while similar to that of William Bryant, was practically unknown in connection with the place, the writers immediately following him entertained no doubt whatever that he referred to Bryant's Station and to William Bryant. And had he mentioned the name William Bryant in connection with the founding of the station, there can be no doubt that his version would have received much less credence than it did.

When, therefore, McClung published his delightfully entertaining book, in 1832, (7) he derived the principal part of his account of Bryant's Station from these newspaper articles, to which he refers in the preface to his book, and unsuspectingly fell into the very errors which, under the circumstances, it was but natural he should fall into. For he entirely rejected this writer's version of the name of the station and its founder, and very properly called the station Bryant's, and as properly gave the name of its principal man as William Bryant. But in doing so, his statement carried with it, rather by inference than otherwise, the attendant errors that William Bryant was one of four brothers by the name of Bryant and that he had married a sister of Col. Boone. Following is McClung's statement, from which the reader may draw his own conclusions:

"About the same time, (1780) Bryants' Station was harassed by small parties of the enemy. This, as we have already remarked was a frontier post, and generally received the brunt of Indian hostility. It had been settled in 1779, by four brothers from North Carolina, one of whom, William, had married a sister of Col. Daniel Boone."

The version of the latter writer, whose book, on account of its attractive and pleasing style obtained wide circulation, was accepted by some of the Kentucky historians (8) and it was not until so late a date as 1874, that any historian saw fit to change the spelling of the name of the station in history. And thus we are presented with the singular spectacle of one historian calling the station Bryant's and stating that it was founded by four Bryant brothers, (9) and of another historian calling the station Bryan's and stating that it was founded by four Bryan brothers, (10) and these historians were father and son. Aye, more. We are presented with the singular spectacle of one writer informing us at one period that the station was Bryant's and that it was founded by four Bryant brothers, of whom William Bryant was the principal man, (11) and

7. Sketches of Western Adventure.
8. History of Kentucky, Lewis Collins.
   History of Lexington, G. W. Ranck.
9. History of Kentucky, Lewis Collins.
10. History of Kentucky, R. H. Collins.
11. History of Lexington, G. W. Ranck.

at another period informing us with equal assurance that the station was Bryan's and that it was founded by four Bryan brothers. (12) Consistency, thou art indeed a jewel! While yet another gentleman has told us that the station was Bryant's and that its first settler was Joseph Bryant, a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone. (13) And a number of other writers arriving nearer the truth, have called the station Bryant's, and have discarded all other names as being superfluous except the name of William Bryant. (14)

Upon one point, however, nearly the entire list of historians and biographers of Daniel Boone have agreed and that is, that the name of the station was Bryant's. (15)

The writer of the newspaper articles alluded to, therefore, instead of having correctly stated that which should have been correctly stated, had simply placed a stumbling block in the path of those who should come after him, and was the direct cause of the four brothers mentioned by him being called Bryant when as a matter of fact this was not their name, and they should never have been so called; and at the same time giving rise to the impression that William Bryant was a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone, which was likewise erroneous.

His statement as to who were the most conspicuous of the early settlers of the station, is also open to doubt. That he was entitled to his opinion upon this point, I freely grant. Yet

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12. Mr. G. W. Ranck, in Filson Club Publication No. 12.
13. Mr. J. M. Brown, The Pioneers of Kentucky, Harper's Mag., June, '87.
14. Sketches of Western Adventure, McClung.
Chronicles of Border Warfare, Withers, (new ed. Thwaites).
Life of Boone, G. Canning Hill.
Life of Boone, Wm. H. Bogart.
Life of Boone, J. S. C. Abbott.
15. In addition to authorities heretofore cited, see also:
The Pioneers of Kentucky, N. Amer. Review, 1846.
Daniel Boone, Harper's Mag., Oct., 1859, B. J. Lossing.
The Pioneers of Kentucky, Harper's Mag., 1862, R. F. Coleman.
Girty the White Indian, Mag. Amer. History, 1886, Ranck.
How Kentucky Became a State, Harper's Mag., 1892, Ranck.
Beginnings of Kentucky and Tennessee, The Chautauquan, Dec., 1899.
National Cyclopediae Amer. Biography, Vol. 2, p. 437.
Appleton's Cyclopediae Amer. Biography, Vol. 2, p. 662.
McBride's Pioneer Biography.
Catholic Missions in Kentucky, M. J. Spalding, p. 15.
Western Monthly Review, Vol. 3, p. 113.
Register State Hist. Society (Kentucky), May, 1907, on Henry Clay and George Rogers Clark, Col. R. T. Durrett.
The Westward Movement, Justin Winson, p. 204.
Historic Families of Kentucky, T. M. Green.
Virginia Magazine of Hist. & Biography, July, 1907, p. 83.

unfortunately for his opinion, it is not supported by the facts. That the persons mentioned by him were all respectable and in easy circumstances, is information which must needs be shared with equal pleasure by all. William Bryant was also respectable, and in easy circumstances. And as the proper name of the station was Bryant's, it did not derive its name from the four persons mentioned by him; while Col. Cave Johnson, who assisted in building the first cabins of the station, and had resided there for a considerable period of time and was acquainted with the inhabitants of the station has made it quite apparent that the principal man of the place was William Bryant. (16) And further than this, it is a well known fact that these pioneer Kentucky stations derived their names from their most conspicuous man.

"These enterprises (building stations) were generally undertaken by men with families, voluntarily formed into small emigrating companies, with out the authority of, or aid from the government. When they arrived at the place of their destination a suitable site was selected, and in building their cabins for the accommodation of their families, they were so arranged as to form a kind of fort for their protection and defense. These places were called stations, and generally received their name from the leader of the party. The name of some of those stations were Boone's, English's, Logan's, Harrod's, Crow's, and Bowman's stations, on the south side of the Kentucky river; and on the north side were Lexington, **Bryant's**, Ruddle's, Martin's, McConnel's, Morgan's, Todd's Stroud's, Hinkston's and Holder's stations." (17)

The facts derivable from other sources as to the name of the station and of its founder, completely destroy the credibility of Bradford's statement and render it incapable of belief that the persons mentioned by him were the founders of the station, or that they were its most conspicuous people.

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16. Autobiography of Cave Johnson, MS. in possession of Col. R. T. Durrett, of Louisville, Pres. Filson Club.
17. McBride's Pioneer Biography.

Hunting Expedition of May, 1780.

As if to add still further confusion, and to still further preclude inquiry, the writer of these newspaper articles gives some account of the hunting expedition heretofore alluded to, and makes it appear that the brother-in-law of Daniel Boone whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, received mortal wounds under circumstances which attended the wounding of William Bryant, and thus leading other writers into the error that William Bryant was the man who was slain while on this hunting expedition. And I now desire to set out his account of this hunting expedition, and then to follow the same with the version of McClung who drew upon this writer for his information, and from which I think the reader will have little difficulty in understanding how the error originated as to the death of William Bryant. And following McClung's version I shall also set out an account of this hunting expedition as told by Col. Cave Johnson in his autobiography, which taken in connection with other unassailable facts, throws a flood of light upon this subject that should dispel the clouds which have been gathering about this subject for a good many years. It is but fair to say that to Col. R. T. Durrett, learned beyond all others in Kentucky history, and the scholarly President of the Filson Club of Louisville, much credit is due for his masterly presentation of the facts relative to the proper name of the station and its founder, and should afford the future historian abundant light upon this subject. (18)

Bradford's Account of the Hunt.

"In the latter part of the month of May, 1780, William Bryan with fifteen or twenty men, set out on a hunting expedition down Elkhorn Creek. After going beyond the point where the paths were usually watched by the Indians, in order to secure success in hunting, they divided, one part of the company was to cross Elkhorn Creek and travel down the

18. Filson Club Publication No. 12.

north side, the other to go down the south side with understanding that all should meet at the mouth of Cane Run and encamp together the following night. The party who crossed the creek was headed by James Hogan, who had with them a led horse; the other party was headed by William Bryan. Hogan's party had traveled but a short distance after crossing the creek, before they heard the voice of some one cry out, 'boys, stop.' On looking back they discovered several Indians closely pursuing them; they therefore laid whip to their horses for several miles when in open woods they could see the Indians in their rear. The led horse was left behind early in the pursuit; one of the party had his hat pulled off by the brush, but the Indians were so close he could not take time to pick it up ,but pushed on bareheaded. Later in the evening, Hogan and his party determined to recross the creek and come home that night, as they could not discover what was the number of the Indians in pursuit, and if they continued on to the mouth of Cane Run, would probably lead them to where the other party were and might by that means sacrifice the whole. They accordingly recrossed the creek and as soon as Hogan had ascended the bank, he dismounted and waited until the foremost Indian got about the middle of the creek when he fired on him which produced a great splash in the water but whether he killed or wounded him is not known, but the Indians ceased their pursuit. Hogan and the party returned to Bryant's Station that night, and before day the next morning with an additional number started to the mouth of Cane Run to apprise Bryan's party of their danger. When they came within about a mile of the camp they heard a number of guns near the place and concluded Bryan's party had fallen in with a gang of buffaloes; they therefore pushed forward with great speed in the hope of participating in the sport, but before they came up the firing ceased and it being a little foggy, the smoke from the guns which had been fired, settled down and produced so great a darkness that Hogan and his party came within a few paces of a party of Indians who were sitting on their packs, having but a few moments before fired

on Bryan's party which firing led Hogan to that point. As soon as Hogan's party discovered the Indians, they dismounted and commenced an attack; it was met by the Indians with firmness and continued about half an hour, when the Indians, being hard pressed, gave way and were ultimately and entirely defeated. **Hogan lost one man killed,** and three wounded; the loss of the Indians was not known.

"William Bryan and his party met at the mouth of Cane Run the preceding evening agreeable to appointment and encamped there. A little after day that morning, it being foggy they heard a bell at some distance which they recognized to be the bell of the horse led by one of Hogan's party the day before; and thinking they could not find the mouth of Cane Run the night before had stopped a little distance short; the bell sounded by seeming jerks as if on a horse that was hobbled. Bryan, to ascertain the fact, mounted his horse and with Israel Grant rode to where the bell was heard; when they came near the bell which was among low cane, they were fired on by a number of Indians and both wounded, Bryan through the hip and knee (of which wounds he died) and Israel Grant across the back; they rode off and both escaped falling into the hands of the Indians and were taken home after the action."

McClung's Account of the Expedition.

Let us next see what McClung, who derived his information relative to this hunting expedition directly from Bradford's version, has to say. From McClung's account of the affair I think the reader will scarcely fail to understand how the error as to the death of William Bryant, the founder of Bryant's Station, originated.

"One afternoon about the 20th of May **William Bryant,** accompanied by twenty men, left the fort on a hunting expedition down the Elkhorn Creek. They moved with caution, until they had passed all the points where ambuscades had generally been formed, when seeing no enemy, they became more bold, and determined, in order to sweep a large extent of

country, to divide their company into two parties. One of them conducted by Bryant in person, was to descend the Elkhorn on its southern bank, flanking out largely, and occupy as much ground as possible. The other, under the orders of James Hogan, a young farmer in good circumstances, was to move down in a parallel line on the north bank. The two parties were to meet at night, and encamp together at the mouth of Cane Run.

"Each punctually performed the first part of their plans. Hogan, however, had traveled but a few hundred yards, when he heard a loud voice behind him exclaim, in very good English, 'Stop, boys.' Hastily looking back, they saw several Indians on foot, pursuing them as rapidly as possible. Without halting to count numbers, the party put spurs to their horses, and dashed through the woods at full speed, the Indians keeping close behind them, and at times gaining upon them. There was a led horse in company, which had been brought with them for the purpose of packing game. This was instantly abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Indians. Several of them lost their hats in the eagerness of the flight; but quickly getting into the open woods, they left their pursuers so far behind, that they had leisure to breathe, and inquire of each other whether it would be worth while to kill their horses before they ascertained the number of the enemy.

"They quickly determined to cross the creek, and await the approach of the Indians. If they found them superior to their own and Bryant's party united, they would immediately return to the fort; as, by continuing their march to the mouth of Cane Run they would bring a superior enemy upon their friends, and endanger the lives of the whole party. They accordingly crossed the creek, dismounted and awaited the approach of the enemy. By this time it had become dark. The Indians were distinctly heard approaching the creek upon the opposite side, and after a short halt, a solitary warrior descended the bank, and began to wade through the stream.

"Hogan waited until he had emerged from the gloom of the trees which grew upon the bank, and as soon as he had

reached the middle of the stream where the light was more distinct, he took deliberate aim and fired. A great splashing in the water was heard, but presently all became quiet. The pursuit was discontinued, and the party, remounting their horses returned home. Anxious, however, to apprise Bryant's party of their danger, they left the fort the ensuing morning, and rode rapidly down the creek, in the direction of Cane. When within a few hundred yards of the spot where they supposed the encampment to be, they heard the report of many guns in quick succession. Supposing that Bryant had fallen in with a herd of buffalo, they quickened their march, in order to take part in the sport.

"The morning was foggy, and the smoke of the guns lay so heavily upon the ground that they could see nothing until they had approached within twenty yards of the creek, when they suddenly found themselves within pistol shot of a party of Indians, very composedly seated upon their packs, and preparing their pipes. Both parties were much startled, but quickly recovering, they sheltered themselves as usual, and the action opened with great vivacity. The Indians maintained their ground for half an hour with some firmness. but being hard pressed in front, and turned in flank, they at length gave way, and being closely pursued, were ultimately routed, with considerable loss, which however could not be distinctly ascertained. **Of Hogan's party, one man was killed on the spot** and three others wounded none mortally.

"It happened that Bryant's party had encamped at the mouth of Cane, and were unable to account for Hogan's absence. That about daylight, they had heard a bell at a distance, which they immediately recognized as belonging to the led horse which had accompanied Hogan's party, and which as we have seen, had been abandoned to the enemy the evening before. Supposing their friends to be bewildered in the fog, and unable to find their camp, Bryant, accompanied by Grant, one of his men, mounted the horse and rode to the spot where the bell was still ringing. They quickly fell into an ambuscade and were fired upon. Bryant was mortally, and Grant

severely wounded, the first being shot through the hip and both knees, the latter through the back.

"Being both able to keep the saddle, however, they set spurs to their horses, and arrived at the station shortly after breakfast. The Indians in the meantime, had fallen upon the encampment, and instantly dispersed it; and while preparing to regale themselves after their victory, were suddenly attacked as we have seen, by Hogan. The timidity of Hogan's party at the first appearance of the Indians was the cause of the death of Bryant. The same men who fled so hastily in the evening, were able the next morning, by a little firmness, to vanquish the same party of Indians. Had they stood at first, an equal success would probably have attended them, and the life of their leader would have been preserved."

Col. Cave Johnson's Account of the Hunt.

Having now seen how the error as to the death of William Bryant came about, let us next turn our attention to the account of this hunt as told by Col. Cave Johnson, who was an eye witness of the events, he himself being one of the men of Bryant's Station who took part in the hunt. As Col. Johnson could not have been other than an unbiased witness of the events of which he speaks, and was a man of superior intelligence, and a resident of the station from the time its first cabins were built, his account of this hunting expedition is entitled to the fullest faith and credit.

"Hunting in the woods for our meat being a dangerous business twelve of us at Bryant's turned out for that purpose all in one company; when we got into the hunting woods near where Georgetown now stands we separated into three companies, Wm. Bryant the head and principal man of the families and station at that time, headed one of the companies, another of the Bryants headed the company that I belonged to, the agreement when we parted was that we were to meet at night at he mouth of Cain Run of North Elkhorn. Soon after we parted the Indians some twelve or fourteen in number got on the trail of the company that I belonged to (for it was easy

to trace a singlehorse in them woods at that time); our leader Mr. Bryant had lit off his horse to shoot a deer; the other three of us were sitting on our horses when the Indians came in sight—I was the first to discover them; we made out to get off before they fired on us and having the heels of them we went on to the station; on the next day 12 or 15 men of the station turned out and went to hunt for Wm. Bryant and his company who had encamped at the mouth of Cain Run the night before and were out the next day hunting not far from Georgetown; he discovered a horse that was hoppled and with a bell on him on the other side of the creek from where he was; he directed the other three of his company to remain where they were while he should cross the creek to the horse and see what it meant—he got over and when near the horse the Indians who were in ambush fired on him and wounded him with three balls; his horse, however, carried him off. The company from the station who were on the hunt of him were in hearing of the guns when they fired on him; they rushed on to the place and found the Indians and a battle ensued; they killed one Indian and got his scalp and wounded several more —five of the whites were wounded—one of them (David Jones) was shot through near the middle of the breast but none of them died except Mr. Bryant who this company on their return found in the woods badly wounded. He was taken on to the station where he died much lamented."

What then are the real facts regarding this hunting expedition?

It will be seen that, instead of fifteen or twenty, there were but twelve men who set out upon this hunting expedition. And that instead of having been divided into but two, they were divided into three parties. William Bryant the head and principal man of the families and station at that time, was the leader of one of these parties. Another man whom Col. Johnson designates by the name of "Mr. Bryant" was the leader of another of the parties. And James Hogan, as stated by Bradford, therefore, must have been the leader of the third party.

It will likewise be seen that instead of two men having been drawn into an ambuscade by the Indians and fired upon and wounded that there was in fact but one, and that man was William Bryant. Upon this point Col. Johnson is clear and explicit, for he expressly says that William Bryant "directed the other three of his company to remain where they were, while he should cross the creek to the horse and see what it meant; he got over and when near the horse the Indians who were in ambush fired on him and wounded him with three balls. His horse however carried him off."

It is therefore apparent that the two men alluded to by Bradford must have been wounded at some other time.

Col. Johnson then says that the persons who were in search of William Bryant and his men, were in hearing of the guns when William Bryant was fired upon. They rushed on to the place and found the Indians and a battle ensued. What now does he say relative to the battle which ensued? Here is his language, and from which the reader will see at once that it was not William Bryant who was mortally wounded in this hunting expedition, but it was the man previously designated by him as "Mr. Bryant."

"They killed one Indian and got his scalp and wounded several more—five of the whites were wounded—one of them (David Jones) was shot through near the middle of the breast, but none of them died except Mr. Bryant who this company on their return found in the woods badly wounded."

There was then but one person killed in this hunting expedition, instead of two, and it is apparent that the person mortally wounded was not William Bryant, but was the man called "Mr. Bryant." There are numerous facts which show this to be true.

First. As the proper and official name of the station was Bryant's, as distinguished from any other name, (as we have heretofore seen,) it is certain that when Col. Johnson refers to William Bryant who was the principal man of the place, he refers to him by his distinctive name. And it has been amply demonstrated that William Bryant, although him-

self severely wounded, did not lose his life as a result of the wounds received in this hunting expedition, but died many years afterward in the County of Boone and State of Missouri.

Second. Col. Johnson twice refers to William Bryant, and twice refers to "Mr. Bryant," in this manner distinguishing one from the other. It is therefore apparent that when he states that "Mr. Bryant" was found to be mortally wounded, he did not mean William Bryant. If he had mean William Bryant, he would undoubtedly have stated that he was the man mortally wounded instead of "Mr. Bryant."

Third. It is apparent that the "Mr. Bryant" referred to received mortal wounds in the battle which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians after William Bryant had been fired upon and wounded and had made his escape. This is in accordance with the statement of Col. Johnson, and the reader should not overlook the very significant fact that Bradford himself tells us that Hogan and his men in the battle with the Indians **list one man killed** and three wounded. It is to be regretted that this writer, who tells us that one of Hogan's men while being pursued by Indians on the previous day lost his hat, but had not time to stop and pick it up, but pushed on bareheaded, could not also have given us the name of the unfortunate individual who lost his life in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians.

Fourth. Singularly, Bradford mentions the names of but two of the leaders of this hunting expedition, of whom James Hogan was one. And by eliminating entirely the name of William Bryant and one of the hunting parties, he makes it appear that Boone's brother-in-law whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, was mortally wounded under circumstances which really attended the wounding of William Bryant, which was well calculated to lead any one reading his statement to believe that they were one and the same man, but which was not the fact.

Fifth. Col. Johnson, however, states that the company of hunters was divided into three parties, and mentions the names of but two of the leaders, William Bryant, and "Mr.

Bryant." It is therefore apparent that he introduces the latter person, whose distinctive name seems to have been unknown to him, merely for the purpose of showing that he was the man mortally wounded in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians. Who then was this "Mr. Bryant?" As but one man is known to have been slain, he could have been no one else than William Bryan, a brother-in-law of Daniel Boone, and since his distinctive name was unknown to Col. Johnson he therefore called him "Bryant also," or, in his own language, "another of the Bryants."

Sixth. Col. Johnson tells us that David Jones was shot through near the middle of the breast but survived his wounds. Bradford tells us that one of the men taking part in the hunt, was wounded in the hip and knee, "of which wounds he died." It is possible, but by no means probable that a man wounded in the hip and knee should die immediately, or even within a few hours whilst one shot through the breast should survive. And it is a fact that the man drawn into an ambuscade by the Indians, and was fired upon and wounded "by three balls" survived his wounds for many years, and that man was William Bryant.

Seventh. There was then but one man killed in this hunting expedition, and he was one of the five men wounded in the fight which took place between Hogan's forces and the Indians. Both Col. Johnson and Bradford state than one man was killed in the fight between Hogan's men and the Indians, and it therefore becomes apparent that Bradford's statement that two men were mortally wounded is incorrect, and there was in fact no one mortally wounded in the first attack by the Indians. A recent writer, recognizing the fact that there was but one man killed, with a kind of logic that is little short of amazing, simply omits all reference to the fact that any one was mortally wounded in the battle between Hogan's forces and the Indians. And after accepting Col. Johnson's statement as true that the company of hunters consisted of but twelve men, he yet omits all reference to William Bryant, and like Bradford, divides the company of hunters

into but two parties, and makes it appear that Boone's brother-in-law, whose name was similar to that of William Bryant, received mortal wounds under circumstances which really surrounded the wounding of William Bryant. And he arrives at this end after announcing that he has gone back to original sources of information entirely for his statements. (19) It would seem, however, that he arrives at this conclusion more through a desire to attach undue importance to a statement contained in a series of newspaper articles, heretofore alluded to, than to give proper weight and credit to the statements of others in connection with other well known facts.

In view of the confusion introduced in the manner heretofore poited out, it is not surprising that a Kentucky historian in recent years, who appears to have known nothing of certain facts which have come to light, should have been led into further errors. For the statement of Bradford as to who built the station, coupled with the erroneous statement of McClung and other writers that William Bryant had married a sister of Daniel Boone and had been slain while leading out a hunting party from the station, was well calculated to mislead any writer. And the historian referred to, (20) in his efforts to reconcile incongruities, simply lost sight of the fact that the proper name of the station was Bryant's, notwithstanding the fact that the persons mentioned in Bradford's notes had at a later date erroneously been called "Bryant also," when as a matter of fact this was not their name. And he accordingly changed the spelling of the name of the station in his history. And this he effected by overlooking the fact that the proper name of the station was Bryant's, as established by the original land certificates, by numerous cases in the Kentucky Court of Appeals and in the Supreme Court of the United States, of which facts he appears to have known nothing, and by the historians who had preceded him for a period of ninety years, and by overlooking the fact that Bryant is a distinctive name, and by accepting, seemingly without question, a statement almost wholly uncorroborated contained in a

19. Mr. G. W. Ranck, in Filson Club Publication No. 12.
20. R. H. Collins.

series of newspaper articles which at best can not be said to be anything like a complete or accurate history of the making of Kentucky. If the time honored landmarks of history can be thus easily struck down, then history is little more than an unsubstantial dream, and historical accuracy is like unto the illusive mirage of the desert air. But there are those who are not content that the name Bryant's Station, so long and so thoroughly established in public records, in Court decisions, and in history and biography and the name of its founder, William Bryant, likewise thoroughly established, should be thus lightly set aside upon such meager authority.

In view of the facts heretofore adduced from authorities cited, I feel amply justified in reiterating a statement previously made that the proper name of this station was Bryant's and it is equally certain that the distinctive name of its founder was William Bryant.

What then is the final conclusion, and from which there is no escape?

The statement upon the part of any writer that Bryant's Station was founded, either by four Bryant brothers or by four Bryan brothers, at once falls to the ground. And with it the attendant errors that William Bryant had married a sister of Daniel Boone and was slain by Indians while leading out a hunting party from the station. These errors merely grew out of an affort upon the part of some of the earlier writers to reconcile the name of the persons mentioned by Bradford with the name of the station and its founder. And upon the part of certain other writers in recent years to reconcile the name of the station with the name of the persons mentioned by him, with the result that all of them have been led into equal difficulties. For no one will seriously contend that the proper name of the station was not Bryant's; nor will any one seriously contend that the proper name of the persons mentioned by Bradford was Bryant, for it has been made sufficiently clear from the beginning that this was not their name. This was not their name as shown by their land entries, nor was it the name used by them or their descendants, and it was not

until long after the name of the station had become established in Court decisions and in history as Bryant's Station that any of them were so called, and this occurred several years after William Bryant had followed Daniel Boone to the territory of Missouri beyond the Mississippi.

The Draper Collection.

Many years after the actors in these scenes had passed from the stage, Dr. Lyman C. Draper collected a large amount of material preparatory to an extended biography of Daniel Boone. But little of the material which he gathered consists of contemporary documents. This material is now stored in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, at Madison, and it would not be surprising, in view of the confusion which has been introduced in the manner heretofore pointed out, if he too had been misled to some extent as to Bryant's Station and its founder William Bryant, as two recent well known writers, both of whom had access to this material have called the station by a different name. (21) But it is hoped that the reader or writer who resorts to this storehouse of material in the future will find there such an account of Bryant's Station and its founder, William Bryant, that there will remain no reasonable doubt as to the proper name either of the station or of its founder, notwithstanding the fact that some other persons of similar name who appear to have been among the early settlers of the station may have been erroneously called in some instances "Bryant also."

In conclusion I would say, it has not been my aim or purpose, in what I have had to say regarding Bryant's Station, and its founder, William Bryant, to disparage in any way, any person or persons who may have been connected with the station. I have merely sought to place before my readers in language unadorned and free from ambiguity, the facts to properly complete the history of Bryant's Station. This I have done without fear or favor or the hope of reward, in the

21. Winning of the West, Theodore Roosevelt.
Life of Daniel Boone, R. G. Thwaites.

consciousness that I have discharged an obligation to the memory of William Bryant, and a duty to his descendants. If I have succeeded in doing this, my recompense shall be in the thought that I have in some degree preserved to future generations the history of times forever passed away, but which should never be quite forgotten by the living so long as they shall continue to revere the memory of the dead.

THOMAS JULIAN BRYANT.

JOHN CLARK, PIONEER PREACHER AND FOUNDER OF METHODISM IN MISSOURI.

John Clark, according to the records, was born in Scotland, November 29, 1758. He received what was at that time a liberal education. Although designed by his father for one of the professions he early in life developed a strong passion for a seafaring life, and in 1778, at the age of 20, entered the transport service. After various, and some thrilling experiences, he finally landed on American soil. Many of his adventures, if related, would interest the reader, no doubt, but I have no room for them in this paper.

In 1787 he was seized with a deep conviction of sin. He forsook the sea and retired to a back settlement in South Carolina, in order, as he expressed it, to teach school and get religion. After passing through a soul struggle, he finally found peace in believing. Of his new state he says, "A happy change came over my mind which tongue can not express." Soon after his conversion he moved to Georgia, where he found a Methodist society and united with it. Up to that time he probably had no acquaintance with that people. He was soon appointed class leader, in which capacity he formed many warm attachments and accomplished much good. While filling this office he became convinced that it was his duty to preach the gospel. After some time he was licensed to preach and received into the conference, and after five years of faithful and successful service he located, feeling it to be his duty to go further west and preach to the people on the extreme frontier. Soon he started for Kentucky on foot, for he seldom traveled any other way, stopping at nearly every cabin on the way to preach, exhort or pray. On his journey he also held some gracious and wonderful revivals. After a year spent in this leisurely journey he reached Kaskaskia, Illinois, and not long after he settled at New Design, in the Amer-

ican Bottom. Here, as his manner was, he taught school and preached on Sunday at such settlements as he could reach.

According to well authenticated tradition, Mr. Clark in 1798 stood on a rock in the Mississippi river, near the western bank, not far from Herculaneum, and preached to the people on the shore the first Protestant gospel sermon ever heard within the bounds of Missouri.

In the year 1800, John Patterson came from North Carolina and settled on Cold Water creek about 15 miles above St. Louis. Not long after Mr. Clark, who had known him in Carolina, visited him and afterward continued to visit the neighborhood at intervals and preached to the new settlers, and this, notwithstanding a special edict of the Spanish commandant in 1799, forbidding Protestants to preach in or even enter the province. At first Mr. Clark exercised his ministry under very serious difficulties, and the utmost caution was needed to enable him to exercise it at all within the limits of the province. He was living in Illinois, as stated above, and leaving his home he would make his way to a point on the river opposite the Patterson neighborhood. After dark he would be met by some one from the settlement,who would convey him across the river to the Missouri side. There he would mount a horse in waiting for him by agreement and proceed with his guide to a cabin selected for the meeting, where the Protestant American settlers had gathered. To them Mr. Clark would preach. Then would follow a social meeting which would continue far into the night. An hour or two before day the preacher would depart for his home and recross the river before the darkness would cease to reveal his presence.

After the Territory came into the possession of the United States Mr. Clark changed his residence from Illinois to Missouri, but the exact date of this change we do not know, but probably about 1805.

January 9th, 1806, Mr. Clark performed probably the first Protestant Christian marriage ceremony in the Territory, uniting in marriage Elisha Patterson and Lucy Hubbard, destined

to be the most important and influential members of the First Methodist society organized on the west side of the Mississippi river. This society was organized by Mr. Clark in the cabin home of the newly married couple during the same year. The names of those composing the first society were Elisha and Lucy Paterson, William, Asenith, Sanders, Polly, John and Jane Patterson, Gilbert Hodges and wife, John Hodges and wife, Allen Monnon and wife, Amy James and Sally Jamison, sixteen in all.

The home of Elisha Patterson continued to be the preaching place until a church house was built. Here again we find no date, but the best authority so far consulted places the erection of the first Coldwater meeting house about 1808 or 1809. This first house of worship was built of logs in the form of a cross. The pulpit occupied the shorter space, while the projections to the right, left and front were occupied by the congregation. It had four gables. It was a union house and occupied by the Methodists and Baptists.

We have now reached a period in life of Mr. Clark, which at this distance of time is difficult to understand. It seems that his mind underwent a change on the subject of baptism. He had, as we understand, been baptized in infancy in his Scotland home, according to practice of the Presbyterian church. It seems that he now embraced the Baptist doctrine of believers in baptism and that of immersion. For some reason he did not unite with the church, or even ask immersion at the hands of a Baptist minister, but following the example of Roger Williams, he first immersed a Methodist preacher by the name of Talbot, who had embraced Mr. Clark's views, and was then immersed by Talbot. From this time Baptist writers have generally regarded Mr. Clark as a Baptist, though baptism administered in such an irregular manner has never been recognized by them as valid.

In 1811 Mr. Clark united with an irregular Baptist church, calling themselves "Friends of Humanity." In this church he remained till his death.

About 1807 or 1808, after a long season of prayer for divine guidance, Mr. Clark went down the Mississippi river in a small canoe boat to what is now Louisiana, where he spent several months preaching and teaching. He returned through the wilderness alone on foot, preaching wherever he found a settlement; and in 1810 he made another visit to that country, going and returning on foot, and this too when a large part of the way was infested by hostile Indians, and the other part by more ruthless white men. We will not follow Mr. Clark's labors further than to say that he visited and preached as far as possible in every newly formed settlement, often before any other preacher was able to reach them, in addition to his regular preaching places. For all this service he asked no salary and received none. Friends provided him with "food and raiment," when he did not earn enough by teaching to supply his meager wants. He was a welcome visitor in every settlement and was an esteemed and honored guest at every settler's cabin, irrespective of denominational affiliation or belief, for in his chosen field he was above creed. In him love overflowed toward all. In this way he spent the last 30 years of his spotless life. He sowed abundantly what others reaped. How much the churches were indebted to him for this early success will not be known till that day when all things will be revealed. And who can estimate his influence for good upon the early settlers with whom he mingled and to whom he so faithfully ministered in God's Holy Word.

November 15th, 1833, he fell in sleep and was buried near the Coldwater church in which he had preached so many years. The funeral sermon was delivered by Reverend John Glanville, the circuit preacher of the M. E. church, who was then on the St. Louis circuit.

A modest slab marks his last resting place, on which is the following inscription:

"Sacred
to the memory of
Rev. John Clark
who was born in North Britian
near the town of Iverness
on the 29th day of November 1758
and died November the 15th
1833 aged 74 years
11 months and 17 days

Mark the perfect man and
behold the upright
for the end of that man
is peace. (Ps. 37.37)

Oh ye who look upon
this stone
Which tells you I am
dead and gone;
Like me prepare to meet
your God
Before you sleep be-
neath the sod."

Thus passed one of the purest men and most devoted Christians of his day. The churches of this day, and the state also owes a debt to his memory they will never be able to pay. (1) JOAB SPENCER.

1. The facts here presented are from the life of Reverend John Clark, by Reverend J. M. Peck, New York, Sheldon Lamport & Blakeman, 1855. As we have seldom quoted verbatim and as we have drawn on so much of Mr. Peck's narrative, we have not found it expedient to undertake to give the pages whence each item has been taken. We have also consulted a number of other works both from Baptist and Methodist writers, but find they all rely on Mr. Peck's little history for their facts.

For the important information concerning the organization of the Cold-water society and matters connected therewith, we are indebted to Mrs. K. E. Davis, of Corder, Missouri, a granddaughter of Elisha Patterson and Lucy Patterson, nee Hubbard. From her I have been enabled to secure important facts not to be found anywhere else.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

THIRD PAPER.

The following inscriptions are on monuments erected in Woodlawn Cemetery, Jefferson City. The list given in the January Review were from the City Cemetery, Jefferson City, but were incorrectly stated to be from Woodlawn.

Mary Jane wife of Robert Ainsworth, born July 5th 1816. Died Sept. 26, 1859.

Erected to the memory of William Alcorn, born March 4, 1797. Died Apr. 10, 1873.

Jesse B. Baber born Feb. 12, 1822. Died Sept. 14, 1878.

Albert Y. Baber born Nov. 13, 1826. Died Apr. 17, 1874.

Hiram H. Baber born in Buckingham Co. Va. Sept. 10, 1795. Died in the city of Jefferson, Mo. Oct. 23, 1873.

Harriet M. wife of N. H. Baber and daughter of Jesse B. Boone, born in Fayette Co. Ky. Feb. 22, 1794. Died in the city of Jefferson, Mo. Nov. 17, 1861.

Alfred Basye born June 2, 1785. Died Nov. 10, 1856.

Frances W. Basye born May 19, 1792. Died Dec. 12 1858.

Susan Basye Stuart born Jan. 15, 1814. Died Nov. 23, 1895.

Anna Barbara wife of John N. Bauer born Aug. 18, 1819. Died Feb. 13, 1905.

William C. Boone born in Shelby Co., Ky. Aug. 2, 1812. Died Jan. 17, 1885.

Lucy A. Boone born in Jassamine Co., Ky. Apr. 18, 1817. Died Nov. 6, 1898.

W. N. Bradbury, 1827-1896.

Ada Bradbury, 1851-1895.

J. R . Christy died Aug. 28, 1851, aged 35 years.

Virginia C. Cordell died Aug. 14, 1865 aged 55 years.

John D. Curry born in Alexandria, D. C. Nov. 26, 1796. Died July 28, 1863, aged 66 years, 8 mo. 2 ds.

Wm. D. Dallmeyer Oct. 22, 1829-March 15, 1908.

John J. Delahay born May 15, 1815. Died May 9, 1871. (Masonic emblems.)

Hiram Shipman Dewey born at Fort Ann, New York, Oct. 22, 1829. Died Jefferson City, Mo. Apr. 22, 1903.

Catherine Doerner born Nov. 19, 1799. Died Aug. 21, 1883.

W. E. Dunscomb born Feb. 1, 1819. Died July 24, 1877.

H. Clay Ewing 1828-1907.

Georgia Chiles Ewing his wife 1831-1903.

Mrs. Eliza Fackler consort of John G. Fackler. She was born in Albamarle County, Va. on the 14th of Oct. 1826. Died in the city of Jefferson, Mo., July, 1849.

John J. Fackler born Feb. 6, 1822. Died Jan. 28, 1892.

Johann Fellinger geborne 18 Nov. 1815. Gest. 9 Mai 1884.

Job Goodall born March 20, 1797. Died Aug. 1, 1856.

C. W. A. Gordon, Oct. 21, 1827-Mar. 6, 1903.

Eliza M. Topham beloved wife of Jonathan Grimshaw born May 2, 1810. Died Feb. 6, 1876.

John C. Guenther born Feb. 21, 1798. Died Oct. 11, 1878.

Elizabeth Guenther born Feb. 20, 1797. Died Feb. 11, 1880.

J. C. Gundelfinger died Sept. 7th, 1891, aged 76 years 15 days.

Julien Guyot 1812-1892.

Caroline Guyot. 1814-1886.

Henry husband of Barbara Hegkler born Dec. 27, 1832. Died Nov. 15, 1878.

Dearest husband and father thou hast left us.
Here thy loss we deeply feel;
But 'tis God who has bereft us,
He can all our sorrows heal.

My sister Mrs. Eliza H. Hockaday died on steamer El Paso June 16, 1854, aged 45 years.

Anna C. Humbrock June 27, 1817-Mar. 23, 1901.

Mary Ann Jefferson consort of M. L. Jefferson born June 5, 1824. Died Oct. 8, 1844.

Simon Kerl born Sept. 10, 1829. Died Feb. 10, 1876.

Robert J. Lackey born Apr. 17, 1827. Died Mar. 6, 1865.

Susan Lackey a native of Ireland Co. of London Darry died July 5, 1851 aged 21 years.

N. K. Lindeman born June 11, 1817. Died Nov. 26, 1871.

Wm. Lusk born in Cumberland Co., Pa. June 26, 1792. Died in Jefferson City, Mo. Feb. 18, 1844.

Mary Fitzsimmons born in Cumberland Co., Pa. March 6, 1796. Died in Jefferson City, Mo., Oct. 8, 1868.

William Lusk and Mary Simmons married by Rev. M. Woody in Cumberland Co., Pa. June 16, 1813.

Civil Engineer, Editor and Soldier, enlisted in Capt. Roberts Co. Pa. Inft. War of 1812. In the battle of Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814.

His life pure and honorable. To the teachings of my mother I built by character. To her motherly advice I am indebted for the position and standing I have obtained. I can pay her no higher tribute. W. H. L.

The children all born in Cumberland Co., Pa. Robert McClure Lusk born April 18, 1819. Died in Jefferson City, Mo. Aug. 11, 1845.

James Lusk, born July 25, 1820. Died in Jeff. City, Mo., Feb. 18, 1853.

Melvina Lusk born Oct. 21, 1831. Died July 11, 1822. Buried in Newville, Pa.

Catherine M. Lusk, born July 6, 1823. Died in Jeff. City, Mo. Nov. 15, 1844.

Martha Jane Lusk, born May 8, 1825. Died in Jeff. City, Mo., Feb. 17, 1852.

William H. Lusk born Sept. 5, 1827.

Sarah E. Lusk born April 6, 1831. Died April 1832. Buried Newville, Pa.

Julietta M. McCall born Dec. 20, 1826. Died Feb. 12, 1895.

Thomas McCormick a native of Ireland died May 31, 1855, aged 20 years.

Jas. B. McHenry born Oct. 7, 1800. Died Oct. 7, 1878.

Susan R. McHenry born Nov. 15, 1809. Died Feb. 16, 1893.

Mary M. McMillan 1813-1893.

John Mabery born Dec. 31, 1818. Died Jan. 30, 1871.

Benjamin F. Massey born in Kent County, Maryland, Jan. 23, 1811. Died Dec. 18, 1879.

Matilda wife of Geo. M. Maus born Apr. 24, 1849. Died Feb. 5, 1908.

Mary J. Maxey dau. of Hiram H. and Harriet M. Baber born July 3, 1820. Died July 2, 1860.

Sarah Meredith consort of Charles L. Meredith who died May 23, 1849 aged 33 years.

Wm. D. Meredith born in Linchburg, Vir. Feb. 23, 1807. Died March 28, 1857.

Mrs. Sarah J. consort of W. D. Meredith born Jan. 9, 1812 in Franklin Co., Va. Died on 10 of Feb. 1855, aged 43 years 1 mo and 1 day.

Philip T. Miller, born May 7, 1818. Died Jan. 25, 1894.

Maria Louisa Winston his wife, 1817-1901.

Michael Newman of Virginia born Dec. 26, 1790. Died March 11, 1852.

Martha wife of Isaac Palmer born Sept. 1, 1804. Died Oct. 9, 1853.

Susan L. wife of Isaac Palmer and late consort of Thomas Bolton born in Pittsylvania Co., Va. Dec. 22, 1813. Died Apr. 27, 1869.

Frances J. Parsons born in Albemarle Co., Va. Oct. 17, 1828. Departed this life in Jefferson City, July 24, 1849.

Patience Monroe Parsons born in Va. Nov. 25, 1802. Died Jan. 30, 1884.

Gustavus A. Parsons born in Va. June 15, 1801. Died Jan. 15, 1882.

Emeline wife of D. H. Peabody born Jan. 12, 1815. Died Dec. 19, 1891.

John Nicholas Petry Oct. 21, 1824-Nov. 16, 1906.

Philipina his wife Nov. 11, 1823-May 22, 1907.

Mary Poynter died Mar. 23, 1862, aged 75 years.

Margaret M. wife of Dr. J. R. Poynter born Mar. 23, 1826. Died Nov. 26, 1848.

John Price born 1817. Died 1901.

Lydia E. Price born 1823. Died 1882.
Gen. Israel B. Read died Sept. 29, 1885 aged 82 years.
J. T. Rogers born Nov. 17, 1805. Died July 20, 1880. (Masonic emblems.)
Elizabeth wife of James E. Ross and daughter of John & L. E. Price born July 9, 1814. Died June 28, 1868.
Note.—Date of birth is evidently incorrect.
Jennie B. wife of James E. Ross and daughter of John & Lydia E. Price born Sept. 8, 1851. Died Aug. 19, 1873.
Emma Colgan Sandford wife of Alfred Sandford born March 17, 1820. Died Oct. 10, 1886.
Maj. Alfred Sandford died at Jefferson City, Mo., Feb. 2, 1863, aged 74 yrs. 11 mos. & 14 days.
Fred C. Schott born Feb. 26, 1829. Died Apr. 15, 1836.
John A. Schott born Jan. 22, 1791. Died Apr. 20, 1861.
Anna M. Schott born Jan. 16, 1798. Died Nov. 6, 1873.
John W. Scruggs born Feb. 23, 1821. Died June 21, 1900.
Sarah Ann Scruggs born May 18, 1832. Died Apr. 14, 1905.
Frank son of J. M. & E. A. Seibert born July 24, 1871. Died June 30, 1892.
Alex. Sherwood born Jan. 7, 1851. Died Aug. 19, 1895. (Masonic emblem.)
David G. Steel born July 27, 1813. Died Jan. 22 1895.
Margaret A. Steel born Oct. 9, 1824.
Henriette wife of Alex. Stewart born at Wiscassett, Me., Sept. 2, 1847. Born in spiritual life Nov. 23, 1887, aged 40 yrs. 2 m. 21 d.
Sarah Swift born in New Hampshire Feb. 11, 1810. Died in Jefferson City, Mo., April 17, 1886.
Eliza Saffinder wife of the Rev. Saml Saffinder born in England Feb. 7, 1810. Died Sept. 5, 1862.
Conrad Vogel died Feb. 8, 1895 aged 81 yrs, 29 dys.
Virina Vogel died Feb. 22, 1897 aged 78 yrs 2 m. 13 dys
George F. Weiss born Jan. 8, 1807. Died Feb. 9, 1867.
Julia A. Weiss born May 9, 1824. Died July 8, 1899.
Charles L. Wells born Aug. 27, 1829. Died Feb. 3, 1900.
Virginia S. Wells born Sept. 2, 1833. Died Aug. 27, 1900.

Nathan R. Wells Sept. 6, 1826. Oct. 8, 1901.

Martha wife of Harvey L. Williams died at Glasgow Oct. 9, 1854, aged 27 yrs.

Amy Winchell born May 16, 1818. Died Jan. 10, 1891.

Nicholas J. Winston born in Louisa County, Va. Dec. 13, 1789. Died March 5, 1864.

Sally Winston born in Green County, Ky. Jan. 5, 1793. Died July 17, 1864.

Benjamin W. Winston, M. D. son of N. J. & Sally Winston born in Green County, Ky. Nov. 10, 1827. Died Aug. 27, 1873.

BOOK NOTICES.

Recollections 1844-1909. By **Henry Clay McDougal.** Kansas City, Mo., 1910.

The above work by a member of this Society, is one of the important works by Missouri authors of the past decade. The rarely retentive memory, wide travel, and extensive acquaintance especially fitted Judge McDougal to give the public recollections that would be pleasing and instructive, and of value historically. The reminiscences of public men and well known women, presidents, statesmen, journalists, in great number, make known some prominent characteristic or event, and give them historical value.

In an appendix are to be found a number of papers and addresses, reprinted from former publications. Among these is a valuable historical sketch of Kansas City read before this Society, though the book does not correctly give the name of the Society, but that of another Society in the state.

Colonel Todhunter of Missouri. By **Ripley D. Saunders,** with illustrations by W. B. King, Indianapolis. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, (c. 1911), 328 p.

Mr. Saunders, of the St. Louis Post Dispatch, is the author of one of the successful novels of the day, one that gives a more correct idea of the Missourian of the position and standing of Col. Todhunter, than any other author, who has attempted to give the "Missouri" dialect. Colonel Todhunter is a favorite with the reader; his humor, his story telling and speech making, his entering into the feelings of his young friends, his readiness to fight for his friends, and his unflagging belief in final success, endear him to those who read of him.

We are glad to add the book to our large collection of Missouri authors.

Civil War Experiences of Sarah J. Yeater, written in 1909 and 1910 for my three granddaughters, Frances and Christine Yeater and Jeanette Brockmeyer, Sedalia, Missouri, 1910.

This privately printed pamphlet of fifty-seven pages is a welcome addition to the histories of Missouri during the civil war period. The authoress, a native of Vermont, came to Osceola, Missouri, in 1855 as a school teacher, and three years later married John J. Yeater, a merchant of the town; three years after she was in the midst of scenes of war, her husband being on the Southern side. Much of Osceola having been burned, the families of her husband and his father started south taking what they could in wagons, the authoress having the care of a young babe—one by the way that at the time of the above publication is a curator of the University of Missouri and a former member of the State Senate,—and this trip south was through Springfield, Fayetteville, Arkansas, and on south down the Arkansas river, then she returned north to relatives at Fulton, Missouri. In 1864 she decided on a trip south again to rejoin her husband, and she spent a winter with him in Texas, finally returning north again, and making her home in Sedalia from that time to the present. There is shown no trace of bitterness from the sufferings she passed through, and we welcome the work for its civil war history, and the authoress into the goodly assemblage of Missouri authors.

NECROLOGY.

Miss Anna Collender Brackett former principal of the St. Louis Normal School, who was associated with William T. Harris in the establishment of the present school system of St. Louis died in a sanitarium in New Jersey March 21, 1911. She was born in Boston in 1836, and came to St. Louis in 1867, where she was the first principal of any Normal School in the United States. She was the author of a number of educational works, and was recognized as a leader among educators.

John S. Davis, a pioneer printer and publisher in Missouri, was born in Fairmount, West Virginia, in 1834. He entered the printing trade February 12, 1846, and in 1856-57 was connected with The Western Dispatch of Independence, Missouri. In January, 1858, he commenced the Marshall (Mo.) Democrat, which was suspended in July, 1861. Afterwards he was for a time connected with the Lexington Intelligencer. About forty years ago he joined the Masonic lodge at Lexington. He died in St. Louis January, 1911.

Dr. Susanna Way Dodds, for sixty years a resident of St. Louis, and founder of Dodd's Hygeian Home, died at Long Beach, California, January 20, 1911, aged 80 years. The Society has the following works by her:

Health in the Household; or, Hygienic Cookery, 6th edit., St. Louis, 1901.

The Liver and Kidneys with a Chapter on Malaria, New York, n. d.

Robert Hugh Miller, the founder of the Liberty Tribune, was born in Richmond, Virginia, November 17, 1826. When a small boy his mother moved to Paris, Missouri. In 1840 he

entered the Patriot office in Columbia, and afterward, was with Col. Switzler on the Statesman. In March, 1846, he with John B. Williams, went to Liberty, and established the Liberty Tribune, the first issue being April 4, 1846. A year afterwards Mr. Miller became sole owner and remained so till September, 1885. He died at Liberty February 14, 1911, and the Liberty Tribune of February 17, has an interesting page about him.

Hon. Horatio F. Simrall was born in Kentucky, May 4, 1845. He moved to Liberty, Missouri, in 1869, and was a successful attorney there. He was elected to the State Senate from the Third district in the 33d General Assembly, 1885, and was prominent in railroad legislation during that session. He died at Liberty, January 30, 1911.

Judge John H. Sullens was born in Wayne county, Kentucky, October 13, 1828, and came to Missouri when a month old. For years he lived in Miller county, and in 1865 went to Bates county. In 1873 he was elected presiding judge of the county court; and in 1877 was elected a member of the House of the twenty-ninth General Assembly. He died January 16, 1911.

Col. William H. Wade was born in Clarke county, Ohio, November 3, 1835. He was in the Union army from April 17, 1861, to April 26, 1866, and soon after came to Saline county, Missouri, where he engaged in farming. In 1874 he moved to Springfield, and bought a large farm which was his home until his death. In 1886 he was elected a member of the Forty-ninth congress, and was re-elected twice. For a time he was the only republican congressman from Missouri, and had much to do in the appointment of United States officials in Missouri. He was a member of the Missouri legislature in the Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth General Assemblies. He was prominent in the upbuilding of Springfield, and retained his mental and bodily vigor till the end. He died of pneumonia, January 14, 1910.

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CONTENTS.

Population and Extent of Settlement in Missouri Before 1804, by Dr. J. Viles - - 189

The Capture of St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781, by Prof. Frederick J. Teggart 214

Christ Church Parish, Boonville, by Capt. S. W. Ravenel - - - - 229

Livingston County, Missouri, by L. T. Collier - 238

Monumental Inscriptions in Missouri Cemeteries, Fourth Paper - - - 242

Book Notices - - - - 245

Notes - - - - - 250

Necrology - - - - 252

MISSOURI

HISTORICAL REVIEW.

VOL. 5. JULY, 1911. NO. 4.

POPULATION AND EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT IN MISSOURI BEFORE 1804.

The starting point for this attempt to determine as far as may be the number of inhabitants and the extent of settled area in Missouri during the French and Spanish periods, is a desire to test the accuracy of the statements and descriptions for 1804, made by Major Amos Stoddard in his "Sketches of Louisiana." As the official census returns after 1800 have for the most part disappeared, the only available method of criticism seems to be an examination of the source material on population and extent of settlement from the beginning and a comparison of the picture thus built up with the formal description of Stoddard,—the ultimate purpose being to determine extent of settlement at the opening of the American Regime. The sources of information are abundant but as yet so unorganized that the extraction of definite facts is difficult. The official census returns of the Lieutenant-Governor at St. Louis are invaluable, but they are incomplete or altogether lacking for a considerable part of the period. Most of them are preserved in the Spanish Archives and are to be found, in translation, in Houck, "The Spanish Regime in Missouri," or scattered through the secondary works. These statistics might be supplemented and the actual area of settlement determined with remarkable accuracy from the mass of papers in regard to Spanish Land Grants preserved at Jefferson City, or in the records of the local Spanish officials now deposited with the Missouri Historical Society or belonging to the City of St.

Louis. However, these mines of information are unworked as yet, with one notable exception; Mr. Houck in his "History of Missouri" has founded his discussion of the extent of settlement directly on this material. As far as this discussion goes, it is invaluable. Mention should be made also of the local sources for St. Louis published by Billon in his "Annals of St. Louis in its Earliest Days" and in foot notes to Scharf, "History of St. Louis," and of "The History of Southeast Missouri," a collection of county histories of unusual value. (1) This article is based, except for the census of 1787, entirely on published material.

As this material is organized under the local administrative divisions or districts, and as these districts correspond fairly well with the natural divisions, it will be more profitable to discuss each district in detail. The lack of accurately defined boundary lines and of any certainty as to governmental relations between the districts causes little difficulty in the present discussion, as it is usually easy to determine within which district any particular settlement was located. The factors determining immigration and spread of settlement will demand some discussion, but the most important questions will be how many settlers were there in Upper Louisiana during the Spanish Period and where did they locate.

New Madrid.

Following the track of Stoddard and approaching Missouri from the south the first district one reached in 1804 was New Madrid. (2) The southern limit of settlement was about the present southeastern boundary of the state, at Little Prairie, the present Caruthersville; the northern, the settlements in Tywappity bottom, at approximately the present northern boundary of Mississippi County.

Canadian hunters and fur traders made L'Ainse a la

1. The confirmed Spanish land grants are given with seeming accuracy on the Higgins map of Missouri. It must be remembered that a land grant did not necessarily imply permanent settlement.

2. The discussion of early history, settled area and nationality of settlers is based on Houck; Missouri, II, 103-166.

Graise (the site of the present New Madrid) their head quarters soon after 1780, and a few in 1786 and 1787 settled there permanently. In 1789 a village was elaborately laid out on an extensive scale as an American colony by General Morgan. This is not the place to discuss this ambitious project, its relation with the Spanish intrigues in Kentucky, and its failure largely through the interference of the notorious Wilkinson, but Morgan's ill-fated attempt resulted in the ultimate settlement of a number of Americans. To provide for the government of the new comers, a commandant and a small Spanish garrison were despatched from New Orleans in 1789, thus opening the new district to regular settlement.

The settlements in New Madrid were all to be found in a rich alluvial plain, bounded on the north by a line almost due southwest from the town of Cape Girardeau, which is the northwest extremity of the Mississippi lowlands. The only elevations in the district are Cayley's Ridge and the Scott County "hills," low ridges of varying width from 5 to 19 miles from the northwestern highlands. This elevation had little importance in determining settlement during the Spanish Period. Much of the land to the eastward was poorly drained and subject to overflow. The marshy portion was covered with a thick growth of cane and timber, the dryer land was covered with open groves of large trees. While the soil was extremely fertile, the district was preeminently a game country. The settlements were determined in part by hunting and the Indian trade, and later after the coming of the American farmers, by the drainage and by means of communication. In 1804 the settlements with one important exception were within a few miles of the Mississippi. This strip of settled country began just above the village of New Madrid and extended to Little Prairie, with an outlying trading station on the St. Francois, the present Portageville. The inhabitants were of both nationalities, but the French predominated, though to a less degree in the village and immediate vicinity. North of the village the banks of the Mississippi were too subject to overflow to attract settlers as far as Bird's Point at the mouth of the Ohio and

Tywappity bottom just beyond. The settlers here were exclusively Americans and had taken up some scattering farms perhaps ten or fifteen miles from the Mississippi. The scattered settlements in the low lands along the river north of Tywappity seem to have been attached to Cape Girardeau. The important inland settlement was on Big Prairie, a long narrow and very slightly elevated ridge stretching northward from the village of New Madrid as far as the present Sikeston in Scott County. The excellent drainage and the fact that the King's Highway to Cape Girardeau and St. Louis followed this ridge attracted a considerable number of settlers, American, except some at the southern end.

Until 1796, the date of the first census which has been preserved, the chief sources of information as to the actual number of settlers in the New Madrid districts are the list of names of those taking the oath of allegiance or fidelity and several entries in the inventories of the archives of the district, giving the total number of oaths on file. On April 26, 1791, the commandant prepared a more elaborate report of the settlers coming since the beginning of that year, with information as to place of origin and size of families. This information is gathered together in the following tables.

NEW MADRID DISTRICT—OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE, 1789-1796.

NAMES				INDICES IN ARCHIVES
Year	Dates Recorded	Number	Americans	Number of Names
1789 [1]	November 30	14	14	
1791 [2]	Jan. 1-April 26	78	4	
	Nov. 30, 1789-April 13, 1791 [3]			129
1793 [4]	April-Dec. (10 entries)	29	12	
1794 [5]	Jan -Dec. (20 entries)	52	26	
1795 [6]	Jan,-Dec. (17 entries)	70	46	
1796 [7]	Feb. 3--June 12, 18	12	12	
	July 21, 1791—May 31, 1796 [8]			343
		255	114	472

1. Houck, Spanish Regime I 319.
2. Id. I 327-331.
3. Id. II 278-279.
4. Id. I 334-336.
5. Id. I 336-337.
6. Id. I 320, 337-338.
7. Id. I 320.
8. Id. II 275.

NEW SETTLERS, JANUARY 1—ARRIL 30, 1791.

Number of Names	Americans	Men [9]	Women	Children	Single	Total Persons
78	4	33(34)[10]	34(33)	110	43	192(217)[11]

9. i. e., Married men.
10. Correct totals in parenthesis.
11. Three widowers are entered both as "men" and "single."

It must be confessed that these tables are unsatisfactory as evidence for the number of actual settlers at any given date. They represent, apparently, heads of families who entered Spanish territory at New Madrid, whether they settled in that district or went on. The indices which are presumably reasonably accurate and complete are given for only two dates, covering in each case a considerable period. The lists of names are obviously incomplete, their total to June 18, 1796, being 255 while the index total May 31 is 472. The correct total for the number of persons in the report of 1791 seems to be 217, after eliminating three cases of obvious duplication. In this report the legends showing "whence they came" are so arranged in the printed transcript that it is difficult to determine to just what names they apply.

However, a careful examination of the evidence reveals some information. Evidently the minimum number of American settlers on November 30, 1789, was 14, the residue of Morgan's expedition. If the thirteen days from April 13 to April 26, 1791, be ignored, 37 oaths were recorded between November 30, 1789, and January 1, 1791. There are no lists of names from April 26, 1791, to April 7, 1793; it seems fair to assume that the 180 oaths, the remainder of the difference between the list and index totals, belong in these two years. If this assumption be admitted, 258 names belong between January 1, 1791, and April 7, 1793, that is, more than half of the total before June, 1796. As to place of origin of the settlers of 1791 the most reasonable interpretation of the legend seems to be that 68 families and 204 persons came from "Post Vesen" (Vincennes); 3 single men, all Americans, from Fort Pitt; and 7, one with a wife and child, from "Galiapolis." Of the 177 other names given during the period, 110 are clearly American; the gap in the lists in 1791-3 makes any general conclusion as to the proportions of the total in the indices impossible.

The first census which has been preserved, dated December 31, 1796, which gives the number of heads of families as 159, is in startling contrast to the total indexed for the earlier period. It seems clear that the indices dealt with heads of families, not

with individuals, and that the census was intended to include the whole district, not simply the village; there is no evidence of an abnormal death rate. Excluding these explanations there remains the possibility that the census of 1796 was unusually incomplete, but an examination of the subsequent census does lead to this conclusion. Probably a partial explanation may be found in the importance of hunting and trading and the consequent transient character of much of the population.

These very unsatisfactory records of newcomers up to 1796 are very fortunately supplemented by Peter Anthony La Forge Syndic of New Madrid, in his report accompanying the census of 1796. (3) La Forge came to the village in 1791. His report is a general account of the first settlement and the progress of the district and its general condition at the date of writing. La Forge states that the largest portion of the families still at New Madrid came in the eighteen months after the arrival of the first commandant, which was late in 1789; perhaps from November 30, 1789, to June 1, 1791, and that the population did not increase under the second commandant, 1791 to 1796. The latter found the inhabitants made up of traders, hunters and boatmen, and as trade was still pretty good for the first two years, there was little agriculture. The success of a few Americans who cleared farms in 1793, and the scarcity of game and the removal of the Indians to the interior turned the Creoles to farming in 1794, but it required the scarcity of 1795 and the coming of more Americans to induce the habitants in 1796 to take up farming in earnest. In 1794 the corn crop was 6000 bushels, in 1795, 10,000 bushels, in 1796, 17,000 bushels, while the population for these years was nearly the same. Of the 159 heads of families in 1796, 53 had no property, i. e., were not engaged in agriculture.

While La Forge is plainly anxious to prove the ill success of the second commandant and to stimulate the third, De Lassus, who had recently taken control, to an encouragement of agriculture, his general description is not inconsistent with the

3. Printed in translation in Billon, Annals of St. Louis, 263-273.

evidence from the oaths. We are to see a large influx of population, much of it permanent, in 1790 and particularly in the first part of 1791, then a large number of newcomers in 1791-93, comparatively few of whom took up permanent residence in the district. By the end of 1796, however, the transition to an agricultural settlement was well under way and a steady increase in population may be expected. A somewhat careful though not exhaustive comparison of the names of families in the census of 1796 and 1797 shows that many names in the former do not occur in the latter, a further evidence of the shifting character of the population. The unusually small proportion of women in 1796,—only 50 per cent of the men were married—is additional evidence. For the years 1796 and 1797 there are preserved the detailed statistical census giving the names of heads of families and much information as to domestic animals and products. The arithmetic of the second census is extraordinarily faulty, practically every column showing an error in addition.

NEW MADRID DISTRICT—CENSUS REPORTS.

Date	Heads of Families		Women	Boys	Girls	Whites	Slaves	Total
	Names	American						
1796 [1]	159	66	77	116	105	457	42	499
1797 [2]	197(216)*	117	112(111)	142(139)	118(120)	569(586)	46(45)	615(631)
	Males		Females					
1799 [3]						757	74	831
1800 [4]	569		121(421 ?)			690(990?)	116	806(1106?

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION.

1802	Perrin du Lac [5]	1200
	C. C. Robin [6]	1500
1804	Amos Stoddard [7] - Less than 1350 Whites More than 150 Slaves	1500

* Correct totals in parenthesis.

1. Scharf, History of St. Louis; I, 87-88.
2. Houck, Spanish Regime; II, 393-397.
3. American State Papers: Miscellaneous; I, 383.
4. Houck, Spanish Regime; II, facsimile.
5. Voyage dans Les Deux Louisianes, 365
6. Voyage dans L'Interieure de La Louisiane, 88, 206.
7. Sketches of Louisiana, 211.

Two facts are very clear; a large increase in the total white population, apparently 129, 28 per cent, and an increase of Americans which very nearly accounts for the total increase. For the remainder of the Spanish Period we are forced to rely on the general census returns for Upper Louisiana, which do not give names of heads of families or information as to nationality. The increase in white population from 1797 to 1799,

while less striking than in the former year, was considerable (171) and as far as one can judge from the incidental evidence, particularly from the information drawn by Houck from the land grants, was for the most part American. This indeed is true of the increase up to 1804, as far as it represented immigration. The census for 1800, given in fac-simile by Houck, shows a surprising situation; an absolute decrease of 67 in the total white population and only a little more than one-fifth as many females as males. Both conclusions are inconsistent with the earlier and later figures. An examination of the fac-simile shows that the figures for New Madrid are given in a different and less detailed form than those for the other districts, i. e. they are copied from a summary, not from the original returns, thus introducing an additional chance of error. The fac-simile shows also that the figure "4" might very easily be mistaken for the figure "1" by the copyist. Accordingly the emmendation of "421" for "121" for the number of females is suggested. Compared with the increases in the other districts for 1800 this does not give an improbable increase for New Madrid; it gives a reasonable proportion for the sexes (569 to 421) and makes the later estimates intelligible. These estimates are, for 1802, 1200 by Perrin du Lac, and 1500 by C. C. Robin. And finally Stoddard (4) states that Little Prairie had 150 inhabitants in 1803 and estimates the population of New Madrid in 1804 (apparently not including Little Prairie) at 1200 plus 150 slaves. His estimate for the district is then somewhat over 150 slaves and somewhat under 1350 whites, a total of about 1500. He states, moreover, that the population is increasing more slowly than in any other district. Admitting the emmendation in the report of 1800, which seems inevitable, Stoddard's estimates are conservative and plausible. As to the proportion of Americans, Perrin du Lac states that the majority of the settlers were Americans; Stoddard estimates the proportion at two-thirds. When one considers that at least one-half of the families in 1797 were American, this estimate seems too small rather than too large.

4. Sketches of Louisiana, 211.

Evidently slavery as yet played little part in the life of the community. Not only were the totals small but in 1796 and 1797, the only years when the information is given, the number of slave owners was small. The 42 slaves in 1796 were owned by twelve settlers, and 29 of them by five; the 45 (46) in 1797 by fifteen, 33 by six. No statistics are given of free negroes and mulattoes or of mulatto slaves, which figure quite prominently in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.

Cape Girardeau.

Next above New Madrid as one went up the river was the district of Cape Girardeau, bounded on the south by New Madrid and on the north by Apple Creek, the present northern boundary of Cape Girardeau county. (5) Louis Lorimier, Indian trader and agent, was the chief figure in its early history. After a long and somewhat chequered career on the Maumee and at Vincennes, he came to Upper Louisiana before 1787 with a considerable number of Shawnee and Delaware Indians and settled on Saline Creek in Ste. Genevieve District. In 1793 he was granted permission to settle his Indians in any unoccupied section between the Missouri and the Arkansas, and guaranteed against interference by any local commandant. As early as 1792 Lorimier had removed to the present site of Cape Girardeau, and here he remained with a few assistants throughout the Spanish Period. No village was laid out; it was simply an Indian trading post. The commandant at New Madrid evidently viewed these privileges with jealousy, but was forced to recognize land grants of Lorimier as far west as the St. Francois, and to consent to a definite line of division. Yet it is by no means clear just when Lorimier was given an independent jurisdiction, except as to the Indian trade. Perhaps his appointment was due to the influx of Americans in 1795-96. The original grant of trading privileges was occasioned apparently by the desire to secure the Shawnees and Delawares as an aid against the threatened invasion of George Rogers Clark under French auspices.

5. The discussion of the early history, settled area and nationality of settlers is based on Houck: Missouri; II, 167-192.

The southern part of Cape Girardeau district falls within the alluvial lowlands characteristic of the New Madrid District and including the Scott County "hills." (6) The remainder of the district is upland, rising somewhat rapidly from the Mississippi and then sloping gradually to meet the foothills of the Ozarks. The creeks draining into the Mississippi are short and rapid, flowing for the most part due east. Much of the larger part of the upland is drained by the Whitewater and a large number of branching creeks which are relatively long and flow southeast or southwest. For twelve or fifteen miles back from the Mississippi the soil is very fertile, perhaps the best of the Ozark border soils; then a very narrow strip of poor soil and again some ten to fifteen miles of good soil. The settlements in the Spanish Period were almost all in these belts in the White Water valley, chiefly in the more level eastern part, in the present Cape Girardeau County, or in the alluvial districts to the south. All authorities agree that with the exception of a few, perhaps not more than a half dozen, for the most part with Lorimier at Cape Girardeau, these settlers were American. "In geological formation, topography, physicial constitution, color, origin and fertility, the soils of the greater part of this area (the first or eastern belt) are practically identical with the soils of the limestone belt of the greater part of the great Appalachian valley in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama." In this "The luxuriance of the forest growth was one factor in attracting settlement." (7) Here the Americans developed the form of society typical of the second stage of pioneer life, supported by farming, stock raising and hunting.

By far the greater number of these Americans lived in a compact territory perhaps ten or twelve miles wide stretching northwardly through the centre of the present county to the rougher country of Apple Creek and including the valleys of Randall, Hubble, Cane and Byrd Creeks, all in the White Water watershed. Farther west along the White Water itself

6. For discussion of topography and soil, see Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region, 198-210.

7. Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region, 199.

from northern Scott county and particularly in the west central part of Cape Girardeau were a considerable number of Germans and German Swiss, largely from North Carolina, and still farther west at Zalma on the Castor and even sixty miles from the Mississippi at Patterson on the St. Francois in the present Wayne County were small groups of settlers, apparently German. There were Americans also in the alluvial district south of Lorimier's post and some few along the Mississippi north and south. Speaking generally, the great bulk of the Americans came from Tennessee and North Carolina.

The statistics as to population for this district are meagre. Until the first American came in 1795, there were only a half dozen whites at most at the trading post; the considerable American immigration seems to have begun about two years later. In 1798 Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau reported about 30 American families (perhaps 200 inhabitants) in the district and noted that some were thinking of settling on a branch of the St. Francois some twelve leagues inland. (8)

CAPE GIRARDEAU DISTRICT—CENSUS REPORTS.

	WHITES			COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Free	Slave	Total
1799 [1]			416	105 [7]		521
1800 [2]	341	285	626		114 [8]	740
1803 [3]	548(550)*	481(483)	1029(1033)		178(179)	1206(1212)

ESTIMATES OF POPULATION.

1798 [4]	Lieu. Gov. Piernas	About 30 American Families
1802 [5]	Perrin du Lac	More than 150 American Families
1804 [6]	Stoddard - - 1470 - - - -	"a few" [1650]

* Correct totals in parenthesis.
1. American State Papers, Miscellaneous; I, 383.
2. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.
3. Id. II, 403-407. This census is given with some corrections in arithmetic in History of Southeast Missouri, 264-266.
4. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 247-248.
5. Voyage dans Les Deux Louisianes; 364.
6. Sketches of Louisiana; 214.
7. Mulattoes.
8. Negroes.

The census for 1799, 1800 and 1803, show a large and fairly constant increase in white population, fully 200 a year, 1798-1800, and an average of about 135 for the next three years.

8. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 247-8.

Stoddard (9) gives the table total of 1206 as the population in 1803 and estimates the population in 1804 at 1470 and a few slaves. This would give a total of at least 1650. He states also that the population of this district is increasing more rapidly than that of any other. If one may assume that the transfer of the district to the United States served as a stimulus to this purely American immigration, this large estimated increase of over 425 in 1804 is not improbable. It is reassuring to note that in this case where it is possible to check up Stoddard's positive statements for 1803, he has copied the census returns exactly.

Ste. Genevieve.

The oldest permanent settlement in what is now the state of Missouri was at Ste. Genevieve, (10) in the fertile river bottom southeast of the present town. The river began to encroach on the original site as early as 1780, and the unusually high water of 1785 compelled a general removal to the higher land of the present site. The original settlement was simply an expansion of the French Canadian community of the American Bottom across the Mississippi, drawn across the river by the importance of the lead mining in the interior. The date of settlement is uncertain but some evidence points to the presence of settlers as early as 1735. Their location here was determined by the coincidence of extensive bottom lands with the crossing place to the lead mines.

The District of Ste. Genevieve in 1803 was bounded on the north by the Meramec and on the south by Apple Creek, the southern boundary of the present Perry County. The settled portion of the District divided itself naturally into the portion fronting on the Mississippi and draining into it, and the valleys of the St. Francois and the Big Rivers, the "Mineral Region." In the first section, the southern portion, the present Perry county, is for the most part a relatively smooth upland with an excellent soil, well watered, covered with a

9. Sketches of Louisiana, 214.

10. The discussion of the early history, settlements, and nationalities is founded on Houck: Missouri; I, 337-387.

hard wood forest. (11) Like the District of Cape Girardeau to the south of which it is topographically a part, it is identical with the limestone districts which attracted the early settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee. In this southern portion the settlers were for the most part Americans, coming in in increasing numbers in the last decade of the century, with some French on the Saline Creek and in the extensive Bois Brule bottom in the northwest corner. Farther north in the present county the surface is much rougher and the soil poorer. Here the settlers were to be found in the Mississippi bottoms and on the creeks. Most of them were French, and by far the greater part at the village of Ste. Genevieve. To the north again, in the present Jefferson county, the country gradually becomes more level and the soil better. Here the valleys of the Joachim and Plattin creeks were occupied by French and Americans well up to their sources. Finally there was a second American centre of settlement on the Meramec.

West of this section of varying width and agricultural value lies some of the roughest though not the most elevated portions of the Ozark Highland. From a very early date, at least as early as 1720, this section and its lead deposits were known to the French and worked more or less continuously. Here the evidence of the Spanish land grants is of little value as many of them were simply mining concessions. For the most part these miners did not take up land, clear farms and settle permanently, but kept their homes in Ste. Genevieve or across the river. Indeed there is no clear evidence of a permanent French settlement in the interior until late in the nineties. There was, however, a considerable floating population here every year. But scattered through this district of broken country may be found several well defined "pockets" of fairly level and unusually fertile soil. The most important of these are about Mine a Breton or Burton (the present Potosi) the Bellevue and Caledonia valleys some miles to the southward, and about the present Farmington. All of these

11. For discussion of soil and topography, see Marbut: Soils of the Ozark Region; 198-209, 235-244.

were occupied by Americans who combined farming with mining just at the end of the century. Moses Austin's settlement at Potosi was the best known, though perhaps not the largest.

The village of Ste. Genevieve was the most typical French settlement in all Upper Louisiana. (12) The houses were strung along the long village street, each surrounded by fruit trees with the barns and vegetable gardens in the rear. The grain was raised in the common fields in the river bottom. Some time in the early nineties a separate village called New Bourbon was established some two miles distant for the refugees from Gallipolis and especially that one of them, the elder Delassus, father of the last Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, might have a distinct jurisdiction. Not very many came from Gallipolis, but New Bourbon grew to a place of more than one hundred inhabitants and included in its jurisdiction the populous American settlement around the present Farmington. There were very few Americans in either village before 1803 and indeed for years afterward. While the agricultural interests were important, the lead mines, the river traffic and the inevitable trade in peltries attracted the younger men and were the more important reasons for the undoubted prosperity of the villages.

DISTRICT OF ST. GENEVIEVE.

	WHITES			COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Miscellaneous	Total
1745 [1]	200				10		[300]
1769 [2]						50 or 60 citizens	
1769 [3]						60 " 70 habitant	600
1772 [4]	264	140	404		287		691
1773 [5]	251	149	400		276		676
1785 [6]							594
1787 [7]	259	132	391	9*1⁰–10	30*226⁰–256		657
1788 [8]							896
1791 [9]	388	241	629	13*13⁰–26	42*276⁰–318		973
1795 [10]	412	275	687	11*9⁰–20	41*254⁰–295		1002
1796 [11]	499	289	788	14*36⁰–50	88*230⁰–318		1156
1799 [12]			1081	1*3⁰–4	424		1509
1800 [13]	769	557	1326	4*3⁰–7	102*357⁰–459		1793(1792) [15]
1804 [14]			2350		520		2870

* Mulattoes.
0 Negroes.
1. Gayarre: Louisiana; II, 28.
2. Houck: Spanish Regime; I, 62-63.
3. Id. I, 70-72.
4. Id. I, 53-54.
5. Id. I, 61.
6. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 170.
7. Mo. His. Soc. Archives.
8. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 215.
9. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 365-68, 387.
10. Id. I, 324-26.
11. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 140-43.
12. Amer. State Papers; Misc. I, 383.
13. Houck: Spanish Regime; Facsimile.
14. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 218.
15. Correct total in parenthesis.

12. For an excellent description of the village, see Brackenridge: Recollections of the West; 21.

It must be confessed that these figures are often puzzling and sometimes improbable; it is to be regretted that they do not show in more detail the various centres outside of the villages. If the estimate for the population of "Missouri" in 1745, which must have meant a total population of over 300, is meant for the village of Ste. Genevieve, it is almost certainly excessive. In the first place a settlement of this size would have left some clearer traces in the French records; again, in 1769, after a very large immigration from the American Bottom the official report of Piernas gives only a little over 600. The contemporary evidence gives the impression that until the British occupation of Kaskaskia in 1765, Ste. Genevieve was a rather insignificant place. It is certain that it increased very rapidly immediately after this. Then followed a period until 1788 of at first slight increase and then actual loss in population, the total in 1787 being slightly less than in 1769. As it does not appear that any settlements were transferred to other districts, one is reduced to the alternatives of doubting the only available evidence or assuming a steady drain of emigration. It seems clear that the American Bottom was becoming under Virginia misgovernment a very undesirable place of residence for the creoles, that they were steadily emigrating through this period, so that the loss from Ste. Genevieve was not in this direction. The statistics for St. Louis do not lead one to suspect any such steady emigration in that direction; there is no evidence that at any time there was much migration down the river. The internal evidence of the census reports in general gives the impression of care and thoroughness and the settlements were still confined to the village and near by creeks. If the figures are wrong, it is a little remarkable that all preserved in this period share the error. A large floating population attacted by the lead mines would explain fluctations in the total, but hardly the steady decrease.

In 1788 there was an increase of over one-third. This would seem to be a clear cut example of the effect of the Northwest Ordinance on the French to the east of the river, but the more detailed statistics of 1791 seem to show that the 1788

increase included a comparatively small number of slaves. From 1788 to 1795 there was another period of almost stable population, followed by five years of steady growth which agrees very well with the scattering information as to the coming of the Americans. Stoddard's figures for 1804 are somewhat startling, but would be too small if the absolute increase of the year 1800 were maintained annually; it must be confessed that the increase seems rather suspicious when compared with that of other districts. If his figures (he himself frankly admits them an estimate based on probable rate of increase) are correct about half the inhabitants of the district in 1804 must have been American.

Ste. Genevieve from the first had a large slave population, over 40 per cent in 1772, but with slight increase until after 1796 and then not at nearly so rapid a rate as the white population. Besides serving as house servants and agricultural laborers in the villages, the slaves were used somewhat in the lead mining. (13)

St. Louis.

Unlike Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, the second settlement in point of time, was founded under a definite plan at a definite time; the district also was fairly uniform in natural features and the settlements compact. The boundaries in 1804 were the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Meramec, but the settlements were almost all of them within the present boundaries of the county of St. Louis. This is a level country with the very fertile loess soil, with not very extensive bottoms along the Missouri. A strip some six miles in width on the western

13. The following census returns for the jurisdiction of New Bourbon may be of some interest; with the exception of 1798, these figures are included in the previous table:

	WHITES			COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total Population
1795	100	50	150		3⁰	153
1796	167	99	266	6*2⁰–8	30*79⁰–109	383
1798 [1]						461
1799			445	1⁰	114	560
1800	308	210	518	1*1⁰–2	17*92⁰–109	530(529)

1. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 248. * Mulattoes. 0. Negroes.

border of the present county is rougher land with a poorer soil and was not occupied during the Spanish period.

The village of St. Louis was founded in February or March, 1764, by Pierre Laclede Liguest as a trading station for the Missouri river fur trade. (14) After 1765 and 1766, however, it became a flourishing village of the ordinary type, for large numbers of the French came over from the American Bottom when the English took possession. At an uncertain date not very much later a second and much smaller village sprang up at St. Ferdinand de Florissant (near the present Florissant) some twelve miles to the northwest, and a hamlet on the Mississippi to the southward, Carondelet, now within the city limits. By 1804 the country fronting on the Missouri was well settled for some miles in depth, there were many settlers in the forks of the Mississippi and the Missouri and the Meramec valley to the southward was occupied. There were two small outposts on the Missouri, at the present boundary of Washington county and at the present town of Washington in that county. Early in the eighties settlement crossed the Missouri at the present town of St. Charles, but while this must have been included in St. Louis district for a time it is more convenient to discuss it as a separate district from the first. Settlement in the central portion of the present county of St. Louis was retarded because of prairie conditions and lack of timber.

In 1804 St. Louis and Carondelet were still almost exclusively French in population, and Florissant predominantly so. Farther to the westward the Americans increased in numbers; the outposts were exclusively American. This is true also of the Meramec settlements to the southward. As the soil and topography were fairly uniform, the distribution of settlement was determined almost altogether by the water-courses and timber. While the fertility of the soil ensured the agricultural prosperity of the district, the Missouri river fur trade was its most important interest. Probably the great majority of

14. The discussion of early history, settlements and nationalities is based on Houck: Missouri; II, 1-78.

the younger men had been at one time or another directly engaged in it, although the Americans, as in all the districts, seem to have paid more attention to agriculture. The location of the seat of government at St. Louis no doubt stimulated settlement and prosperity.

DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS.

	WHITES			COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Miscellaneous	Total
1764 [1]						about 40	(40)
1765 [2]						several hundred	
1767 [3]						140 families	
1769 [4]						65-80 citizens	
1769 [5]	More citizens but fewer slaves than St. Genevieve						
1770 [6]						about 500	
1772 [7]	248	151	399		198		597
1773 [8]	285	159	444		193		637
1785 [9]							897
1787 [10]	587	309	896	21*12°-33	76*177°-253		1182
1788 [11]							1197
1791 [12]	585	390	975	23*14°-37	75*239°-314		1326
1795 [13]	544	431	975	37*6°-43	97*201°-298		1316
1796 [14]	702	475	1177	34*8°-42	85*218°-303		1522
1799 [15]			1854	55*33°-88	330		2272
1800 [16]	1142	838	1980	58*12°-70	133*284°-417		2467
1804 [17]			2280		500		2780

1. Billon: Annals of St. Louis; 20.
2. Ib. 25.
3. Ib. 53.
4. Houck: Spanish Regime; I, 63.
5. Ib. I, 72-73.
6. Billon: Annals of St. Louis; 75-76.
7. Houck: Spanish Regime; I, 53-54.
8. Ib. I, 61.
9. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 170.
10. Mo. Hist. Soc. Archives.
11. Gayarre: Louisiana; III, 215.
12. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 373-78.
13. Ib. I, 324-26.
14. Ib. II, 140-43.
15. Amer. State Papers, Misc.; I, 383.
16. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.
17. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana, 221.

The table shows a steady growth of population with three periods of rapid growth. At the end of the first year St. Louis was merely a trading post with forty men, mostly no doubt young and unmarried. Billon after a careful scrutiny of the local records estimated a population two years later of "several hundred"; he stated also that the increase in population after 1766 was relatively slow. (15) As the figures from 1769 to 1773 confirm this statement, it is safe to say that between three and four hundred persons settled in the village in 1765 and 1766, coming for the most part from the French villages across the river. St. Louis became in two years a settlement of considerable size and importance. Then followed a period of twelve years of very slow increase, hardly as much

15. Billon: Annals of St. Louis; 75-76.

as one would expect even in a community where at least one-third of the males were necessarily unmarried. From 1786 to 1787 there was an influx of settlers; if one may assume that this came chiefly in the latter year, the Northwest Ordinance may be invoked as the cause. As in Ste. Genevieve there was no such increase in slave population as one would expect if this explanation be correct. It is probable that the second period of exceedingly slow growth, until 1795, may be explained in part by the fact that the settlements across the river were then organized in a separate district of St. Charles. From 1796 to 1800 the population increased rather steadily at the rate of a little over two hundred a year. Unquestionably this represents for the most part an immigration of Americans. If this rate were maintained for the next four years the total in 1804 would be well over 3000; Stoddard's estimate, and he in this case also admitted that is was based on probable rate of increase, seems conservative. It must be remembered that Stoddard was a resident in St. Louis and that the settlements in the district were compact and accesible, so that his opportunities for first hand information were very much greater than in the case of Ste. Genevieve. The fact that the area desirable for settlement was somewhat limited and that the population of the newer district of St. Charles was increasing very rapidly up to 1804 makes a diversion of the American immigration from St. Louis after 1800 very probable. Billon (16) estimated the population of the village of St. Louis at the transfer as 925.

16. Billon: Annals of St. Louis; 76.

DISTRICT OF ST. LOUIS—SUBDIVISIONS.

	WHITES			COLORED			
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total	Subdivision
1791	414	270	684	23*14⁰–37	74*234⁰–308	1029	St. Louis
	91	62	153		1*2⁰–3	156	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
	80	58	138		3⁰–3	141	Carondelet
1795	368	268	636	37*6⁰–43	97*200⁰–297	976	St. Louis
	76	81	157			157	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
	100	82	182		1⁰–1	183	Carondelet
1796	390	261	651	34*8⁰–42	85*197⁰–282	975	St. Louis
	107	71	178		7⁰–7	185	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
	102	76	178		3⁰–3	181	Carondelet
	69	44	113		11⁰–11	124	Marais des Liards
	34	23	57			57	Meramec
1800	401	268	669	58*12⁰–70	116*185⁰–301	1039(1040)	St. Louis
	148	114	262		5*12⁰–17	279	St. Ferdinand (Florissant)
	113	76	189		3⁰–3	192	Carondelet
	97	76	173		8*27⁰–35	208	Marais des Liards
	75	54	129			129	Meramec
	123	104	227		12⁰–12	237(239)	Mississippi-Missouri
	185	146	331		4*45⁰–49	380	St. Andrews

* Mulattoes. 0. Negroes.

These statistics of the subdivisions of the district of St. Louis would be of more value if it were certain that the boundaries were the same throughout. Clearly the oldest community—St. Louis proper—was very nearly stationary in population from 1791 to 1800, while Carondelet increased very slowly. On the other hand the exclusively American centres of the Meramec and St. Andrews (in the western part of the present county) show a remarkable increase, shared to a considerable degree by Florissant and Marais des Liards (three or four miles west of Florissant), where the two nationalities mingled. The fork of the Missouri and the Mississippi figures so little as a distinct section in Houck's discussion that it is impossible to generalize as to nationalities.

The statistics as to slavery do not call for extensive comment. At all times the great majority of them were owned in St. Louis proper. It is interesting to note that on the Meramec, the older of the American settlements, there were none, while in St. Andrews after two years of settlement in 1800 there were 49. Evidently these later commers were of a somewhat different pioneer type.

St. Charles.

St. Charles District (17) had in 1804 at once the greatest extent and the smallest population of any of the Districts of Upper Louisiana. It included all of the province north of the Missouri river; even the Spanish grants at Prairie du Chien were nominally within its boundaries. St. Charles again was the oldest of the districts settled after the establishment of the Spanish control. The settlement at the village of St. Charles dated back to about 1780 and to a Canadian trader and his Indian wife. The date of the establishment of the separate district is uncertain. The evidence points to sometime subsequent to 1787 with 1792 as most probable.

The topography and soil (18) of the settled portion of the district, for the most part within the present county of St. Charles, are diversified and determined settlement to a considerable degree. To the east along the Mississippi is a strip of bottom land some four or five miles in width, but too subject to overflow to be suitable for settlement except in the "point" to the southward. The Missouri bottom joins that of the Mississippi at St. Charles village, but is somewhat higher. Above St. Charles the Missouri washes the bluffs except for a few tracts of bottom lands, for the most part at the mouths of the creeks. The Mississippi bottoms are bounded by lower bluffs, the whole county sloping upward toward the north and west. In general, the higher the section the rougher the surface, though little except immediately along the Missouri and the creeks is unfitted for cultivation. The soil of the eastern part of the uplands is a loess similar to St. Louis County, growing more clayey and less desirable toward the west. The smoothest part of the uplands is on the divides between the creeks, but was treeless prairie, and therefore unoccupied until well into the American Period.

The village of St. Charles, situated on the edge of the bottoms, was throughout the Spanish period a French village with

17. The discussion of the early history, settlements, and nationalities is based on Houck; Missouri; II, 79-102.

18. For soil and topography, see Soil Survey of O'Fallon Area (U. S. Bureau of Soils, 1904.)

two common fields, and peopled largely by French Canadians. While agriculture was of increasing importance, it remained primarily a headquarters for hunters and traders up the Missouri. Very few Americans settled in the village. Another French hamlet was Portage des Sioux, on the point between the Mississippi and the Missouri. There sems to have been some French also on the Dardenne and La Charette, but the great majority of them were in these two villages.

The Americans as usual avoided the villages and took up detached farms. They were particularly numerous on the Dardenne which flows parallel to the Missouri at a distance of some twelve or fourteen miles, and on its tributaries. Here the creek valley was of sufficient width to permit small farms while the wooded upland furnished a range for the stock. The Perruque, the next creek to the north, had a much narrower valley and was sparsely settled. Finally there were a number of Americans on the Cuivre river, some distance inland, on the northern boundary of the present county. The banks of the Missouri above St. Charles were settled to any extent only on two creeks, the Femme Osage and La Charette, the latter just over the line into the present Warren county. In each case the settlements followed the valleys for some miles inland. The Femme Osage settlement was founded by a son of Daniel Boone, was the first Missouri home of the latter and the seat of his authority as Syndic. True to his instinct of following the frontier he later moved to La Charette where he died. These Missouri river settlers were for the most part traders and wanderers; the Americans in the interior seem to have been been of the more stable agricultural type. There is evidence of land grants and temporary settlements farther up the Mississippi, on the Salt river especially, but no clear evidence that as yet any permanent settlements had been made among the hostile Indians so far from any protection.

DISTRICT OF ST. CHARLES.

	WHITES			COLORED		
Date	Males	Females	Total	Freedmen	Slaves	Total
1787 [1]	53	26	79			79
1791 [2]	164	82	246	4*4⁰-8	1*-1	255
1795 [3]	198	139	337		11⁰-11	348
1796 [4]	237	151	388		7*10⁰-17	405
1799 [5]			840		55	895
1800 [6]	584	437	1021		29*60⁰-89	1110
1804 [7]			1400		150	1550

* Mulattoes. 0. Negroes.

1. Mo. Hist. Soc.; Archives.
2. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, 388-89. A comparison with a copy in the Missouri Historical Society shows that the column headings for Freedmen and Slaves have been transposed in the printing.
3. Ib. I, 324-26.
4. Ib. II, 140-143.
5. American State Papers, Miscellaneous, I, 383.
6. Houck: Spanish Regime; II, Facsimile.
7. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 224.

The table shows the same rapid increase of population just after 1787 already noted in St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve, followed by a period of much slower growth and then a large and steady increase from 1799—the coming of the Americans. As Stoddard stated that the population was increasing faster in 1804 than in any other district except perhaps Cape Girardeau, his figures "estimated partly by official documents," seem very conservative. He stated that there were about one hundred houses on the mile-long single street of the village of St. Charles; there were only twenty or twenty-five houses at Portage des Sioux. (19) Stoddard estimated that four-fifths of the inhabitants of the district were Americans. (20) Even from the totals in the census returns this seems rather excessive; the following detailed census for 1800 makes it seem even more so, unless "St. Charles" included considerable territory outside the village proper.

Date	Males	Females	Total	Slaves	Total	Subdivision
1800	343	231	574	18*22⁰-40	614	St. Charles
	50	49	99	4*-4	103	Portage des Sioux
	89	76	165	5*12⁰-17	180(182)	River Cuivre
	102	81	183	2*26⁰-28	211	Femme Osage

* Mulattoes. 0 Negroes.

19. Stoddard: Sketches of Louisiana; 223.
20. Ibid.

The small percentage of women and the very small number of slaves until the coming of the Americans seem to emphasize the importance of the Missouri river fur trade in the community. Even at the time of the transfer the percentage of slaves was smaller than in any of the other districts, in rather striking contrast to that of St. Louis and Ste. Genevieve.

The following table gives the more important totals for the last three census which have been preserved complete and Stoddard's estimate:

Date	Whites	Freedmen	Slaves	Total	District
1796	457		42	499	New Madrid
	788	50	318	1156	St. Genevieve
	1177	42	303	1522	St. Louis
	388		17	405	St. Charles
	2810	92	680	3582	Totals for Upper Louisiana
1799	757		74	831	New Madrid
	416	105		521	Cape Girardeau
	1081	4	424	1509	St. Genevieve
	1854	88	330	2272	St. Louis
	840		55	895	St. Charles
	6028	197	883	6028	Totals for Upper Louisiana
1800	690(990?)		116	806(1106?)	New Madrid
	626		114	740	Cape Girardeau
	1326	7	459	1792	St. Genevieve
	1980	70	417	2467	St. Louis
	1021		89	1110	St. Charles
	5643(5943?)	77	1195	6915(7215?)	Totals for Upper Louisiana
1804	1350		150	1500	New Madrid
	1470		"few"	(1650)	Cape Girardeau
	2350		520	2870	St. Genevieve
	2280		500	2780	St. Louis
	1400		150	1550	St. Charles
	9020		1320	(10340)	Stoddard's Totals
	8850		(1500)	(10350)	Totals for Upper Louisiana

As there were 179 slaves in Cape Girardeau by the census of 1803, there must have been at least 180 slaves at the time of Stoddard's estimate. The discrepancies in Stoddard's totals arose from his allowance for traders and trappers.

Stoddard, then, estimated an increase of about fifty per cent from 1800 to 1804, which corresponds very closely to the actual increase as shown by the census returns for 1799 and 1800; in other words his figures are not intrinsically improbable. As we have seen, the estimates by districts do not arouse suspicion except in the case of Ste. Genevieve. It seems, therefore, a safe and conservative statement that the total population of Upper Louisiana at the time of the transfer

was between nine and ten thousand, of which a majority was American and over fifteen per cent slave.

As to distribution, these settlers were to be found along the Mississippi from the present southeast corner of the state to New Madrid, and from the mouth of the Ohio northward to Cape Girardeau. In this lowland district the only important settled area back from the river was the long narrow ridge stretching north from New Madrid. Americans and French lived side by side in the town and along the river to the southward; the other settlements were for the most part exclusively American. From Cape Girardeau nearly to the Meramec the strip along the river is rough and relatively undesirable, and was settled only at the mouths of the creeks and along their courses and in the bottoms at Ste. Genevieve and Bois Brule, in the present Perry County. The settlers were for the most part French except on the more northern creeks. Some miles back on the rolling uplands of the present Cape Girardeau and Perry Counties was a district differing little in natural conditions, inhabitants and social conditions from the typical American settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. This was true to a less degree, because of the lead mines, of the "pockets" of settlement in the mineral region. The lower Meramec again was an American district. Between the Meramec and the Missouri natural conditions are uniform and settlements had sprung up wherever there was water and timber. St. Louis was a French village, while on the Meramec and the Upper Missouri the Americans were in control; over the rest of the district the two races were more or less mingled, the French predominating in the hamlets. North of the Missouri the French were to be found in the villages of St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, while the Americans had settled on the creeks flowing into the Missouri and the Mississippi.

As yet, however, the Americans with a few exceptions, notably in New Madrid, were living on detached farms or in small groups, while the villages and the commerce and industry were almost altogether French. In government and politics also the Latin methods and ideals prevailed. Although the numerical majority of the settlers were of American origin, the Americanization of Upper Louisiana had hardly begun.

JONAS VILES.

THE CAPTURE OF ST. JOSEPH, MICHIGAN, BY THE SPANIARDS IN 1781.

I.

On January 2, 1781, a military force set out from St. Louis to attack the British post of St. Joseph. This was situated upon the St. Joseph River, which flows into the southeastern extremity of Lake Michigan, and appears to have stood near the site of the present town of Niles, in Michigan. (1) The distance to be traversed was, consequently, about 400 miles. (2) There was no British establishment nearer to St. Louis.

The detachment was commanded by the officers of the second militia company of St. Louis (3)—Eugene Pourre, captain, Charles Tayon, ensign, and Louis Chevalier. The last mentioned was given, by Francisco Cruzat, lieutenant-governor at St. Louis, the special appointment, for the occasion, of interpreter to the expedition, on account of his familiarity with the languages of the Indians. The sergeants, Louis Honore and Joseph Labuxiere, appear in this position in the roster of the first company, (4) it is not improbable a transfer was made to relieve older men.

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1. In 1888, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Collections, XI, 115n.2, 178n.5, Thwaites was of opinion that is was "located....a short distance below the present city of South Bend," Indiana. In 1905, however, he had reverted, France in America, New York, 1905, p. 290, to the more generally accepted view, of Mason, Chapters from Illinois history, Chicago, 1901, p. 298; also Thwaites, Early westward travels, I, 117n.85.

2. Thwaites, France in America, p. 290. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781, gives the distance as 210 leagues; the Gazeta de Madrid, March 12, 1782, as translated by John Jay, says 220 leagues.

3. Houck, History of Missouri. Chicago, 1908. II, 42. Formation of 2d company approved, Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781. Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 426; same in Houck, Spanish regime in Missouri, Chicago, 1909, I. 204. Roster of 2d company, December 20, 1780. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 186-189.

4. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 184.

The Indian allies were led by the chiefs El Heturno and Naquiguen, who were, evidently, well known for their hostility to the British. (5)

The force under Pourre's command consisted of 65 militiamen and 60 Indians. The numbers, as might be expected, vary in each different account. Pourre and his officers, in the statement of February 12, (6) say that the detachment was 120 men—the five men who signed the document may not have been included in the total. The Indians of St. Joseph, in making their excuses to De Peyster, the British commander at Detroit, for the failure to protect their traders, said there were "one hundred white people and eighty Indians"(7) in the attacking party, but the occasion demanded some exaggeration. Richard McCarty, a Virginian officer in Illinois, mentions "30 Spaniards and 20 Cahokians, and 200 Indians." (8) McCarty is undoubtedly right in saying that only 50 militiamen went from St. Louis, for Malliet with his forces of a dozen joined the expedition after it had started. (9) But he is wrong in regard to the Indians, for those that accompanied Pourre were likewise added on the Illinois River. (10) McCarty's figures can not be taken to represent the final make-up of the expedition, even if, as is doubtful, he was in a position to obtain the information at first hand.

As outposts to watch the movements of the British and to

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5. "El Heturno" is the Spanish rendering of the French "Le Tourneau," his name is also given as Siggenake. The two chiefs are frequently mentioned together, thus in De Peyster's rimed speech, July 4, 1779: "Sly Siggenaak and Naakewoin," Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 384. They opposed Langlade during the attack on St. Louis in 1780, Cruzat to Galvez, November 13, 1780. no. 6. De Peyster refers to them, in connection with the expedition of 1781, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections, X, 454, as "outcasts of their nations," and "runnagade chiefs." He speaks of Siggenake as "the disaffected Milwaukee chief," De Peyster to Haldimand, May 2, 1779, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 380. Mottin de la Balme noted that "Le Tourneaux at the Illinois River is an important chief," Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 588. The Indians who accompanied Mottin de la Balme's expedition, in November, 1780, were led by Siggenake, Houck, History of Missouri, I, 309. For further notes on his career see Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 384n53.

6. See below p. 8.

7. Indian Council at Detroit, March 11, 1781, reported by De Peyster, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 453.

8. McCarty to Slaughter, January 27, 1781, Calendar of Virginia state papers, 1, 465.

9. Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781.

10. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781.

gain, if possible, the adherence of the Indians, Cruzat had, in November, 1780, placed a force of 40 militiamen under Boucher de Monbreun with the Sac Nation on the Mississippi, and 12 militiamen under Jean Baptiste Malliet on the Illinois River. (11) The latter party being on the line of march was incorporated into the expedition. (12)

The route followed was by the Mississippi to the Illinois River, and up the latter to the vicinity of the present Peoria. Malliet joined Pourre at a place that he designates "la mauvaise terre sur la rivierre des illinois," where the expedition was on January 9th, a week after its departure. "Los Pes," 80 leagues from St. Louis, was reached on the 20th of the month. Thus far they had kept to the water, but from this point, as the river had frozen over, it was necessary to continue the journey on foot. The boats and unnecessary articles were cached, the provisions and ammunition were distributed among the men, and the goods for presents to the Indians were loaded upon a few horses obtained, presumably, in the country. Under such conditions the march of 130 leagues was a serious undertaking. It occupied 20 days, and there could have been little exaggeration in Cruzat's statement that the detachment "experienced all that can be imagined of cold, peril and hunger." (13)

Arrived, at nightfall, within two leagues of their destination, Pourre sent off a young Pottawatomie named Lajes to persuade the 200 Indians in St. Joseph—"who were staying at

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11. Cruzat to Galvez, November 14, 1780, no. 7. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422, and Houck, Spanish regime, I, 201.

12. Malliet to Cruzat January 9, 1781. On Malliet, over whom there has been much futile discussion, see American state papers, Public lands, 111, 476-486; Inhabitants of "the Pees" to Rocheblave. January 26, [1778?], Chicago Historical Society, Collection, IV, 397-398; St. Clair to Washington, Report, March 5th to June 11th, 1790; Smith, St. Clair papers, Cincinnati, 1882, II, 176; Alvord Illinois State Historical Library, Collections, II, 230 n.2; Thwaites, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422 n.33.

De Peyster had sent an expedition from St. Joseph against Malliet's settlement at "the Pees" in 1780, but the people had left before its arrival. De Peyster to Haldimand, August 31, 1780, De Peyster to Bolton, October 28, 1780, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X 424, XIX, 578.

13. Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781.

that post for the protection of the traders'' (14)—to remain neutral. The assurance that they would receive half of the booty elicited the desired promise. (15) On February 12th, at seven o'clock in the morning, the whole detachment crossed the river on the ice, and had seized the post before the enemy had time to use their weapons. They took prisoner ''the famous Dugut'' (16) and seven of his engages, apparently the only persons there besides the Indians. These, with an English flag they had with them, were subsequently delivered to Cruzat at St. Louis.

All the goods in the place were divided between the Indians on the expedition and those of St. Joseph; the militiamen were prohibited from taking anything what ever for themselves. Three hundred sacks of corn were destroyed, as well as other provisions which had been accumulated in view of the projected attack on the Mississippi settlements.

During the occupation, which lasted twenty-four hours, the Spanish flag was kept flying; and, with the date of February 12, 1781, (17) Pourre and his officers drew up and signed a formal document taking possession, by right of conquest, in the name of ''Sa Magestee tres Catholique le roix Despagne'' of the post of St. Joseph and its dependencies, and of the rivers St. Joseph and Illinois.

This accomplished the detachment took its departure, and reached St. Louis again on the 6th of March, without the loss

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14. Indian tribes were expected to defend their traders; cf. Sinclair to Powell, June 6, 1781, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 638. After the event the Indians of St. Joseph went to Detroit to exculpate themselves "for having suffered the enemy to carry off their traders," Indian Council at Detroit, March 11, 1781, reported by De Peyster, Mich. Hist., Soc., Collections, X, 453-455.

15. "Puez el interez es su primer mobil," Cruzat says. "It was the goods and the goods only that made the Mamies and Pottewattimies strike Le Balm and the Creoles." De Peyster to Haldimand, May 27, 1781, Mich, Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 482.

16. Cruzat to Galvez November 13, 1780, no. 6, reports that he has definite news of the arrival of a Montreal merchant, named Duguet, at St. Joseph, with goods for the purpose of raising the Indians against the Spanish settlements. Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, says "il ya au fort St. Joseph le sieur Dugue, capitaine, Rheille, lieutenant, et Campion, ensigne, avec quantite de merchandises." His name, which appears as Du Gay, is not prominent in the correspondence of Sinclair or De Peyster; cf. Mich. Hist. Soc. Collections, XIX, 500; X, 400, 435-436.

17. See below p. 8.

of a single man. (18) On the English side two men who had attempted to escape, were overtaken by the Indian allies and killed.

The day following the departure of the Spanish force Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre arrived at St. Joseph; he was unable to induce the Indians to go in pursuit, while they "insisted on his conducting them to Detroit"—in the opposite direction." (19)

II.

This incident of the capture of St. Joseph by the Spaniards found a place in historical literature with the issue of the Gazeta de Madrid for March 12, 1782. The statement there published seems to have had some further dissemination for a month later, on April 12, Franklin, then at Passy, wrote to Livingston: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country." On April 28, John Jay sent to Livingston, from Madrid, a copy of the Spanish account with an English translation, "as literal as I can make it." This was printed, in 1821, in the Secret journals of the acts and proceedings of Congress, vol. 4; and, in 1830, in Jared Sparks's Diplomatic correspondence of the American Revolution, vol. 8. Franklin's letter appeared in vol. 2 of the same

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18. The approval of the King of Spain was communicated by [Joseph de] Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, January 15, 1782, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 431-432; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 207.

19. Sinclair notified Haldimand, May 29, 1780, "I propose sending a Captain of Militia to St. Joseph's, one to La Ray and one to St. Mary's." Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 553-554; Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections ,XI, 153. Dagneau le Quindre was assigned to St. Joseph. He raised the Pottawatomies after Hamelin's attack on St. Joseph, De Peyster to Haldimand, January 8, 1781: to Powell, January 8, 1781; to Powell March 17 1781; Haldimand to De Peyster April 10, 1781; Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, X, 450-451, XIX, 591-592; XIX, 600-601; X, 465. The credit for this service was afterwards given to Campion a trader, Sinclair to Mathews, February 23, 1781; to Powell, May 1, 1781; to [Haldimand], May 12, 1781; Mathews to Sinclair, June 1, 1781. Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 629; XIX, 632; X, 480; X, 488. Sinclair was "sorry that Lieut. De Quindre did not attend that post when Mr. Campion's affairs called him from St. Joseph's" to Michilimackinac.

There was no "English garrison" as Thwaites and others have assumed. Haldimand to Powell, June 23, 1781. "Troops being sent for the protection of one or of a fewtraders is out of the question.' Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, XIX, 642.

collection, and, in 1840, in vol. 9 of his Works, edited by Sparks.

From these sources the episode was incorporated into such writings as the History of Indiana, by John B. Dillon, 1843, 2d ed., 1859; Annals of the West, by James H. Perkins, 1846, various eds. to 1858; and The pioneer history of Illionis, by John Reynolds, 1852, reprinted 1887.

Other documents bearing on the subject have been more recently published. The Calendar of Virginia state papers, vol. 1, 1875, contained an allusion in the letter written January 27, 1781, by Richard McCarty to Colonel George Slaughter. The Calendar of the Haldimand Collection, included in the Report on Canadian archives, by Douglas Brymner, 1886, made known the existence of letters between British officers who were cognizant of the event. These letters were published in full in the Collection of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, vol. 10, 1888, and vol. 19, 1892. Within the last few years one or two Spanish documents have been made public in the Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, vol. 18, 1908, and (the same documents) in Louis Houck's Spanish regime in Missouri, 1909.

Meanwhile historical writers interested in the Northwest have not overlooked the subject, (20) and on two occasions it has been made the topic of independent studies—Edward G. Mason's "March of the Spaniards across Illinois," Magazine of American History, vol. 15, 1886, republished in his Chapters from Illinois history, 1901; and, C. W. Alvord's "Conquest of

20. For example: Poole, W. F. in Winsor's Narrative and critical history of America, vol. 6. Boston, 1887. p. 743.
Hinsdale, B. F. Old Northwest. New York, 1888. pp. 173-174.
Moses, John. Illinois, vol. 1. Chicago, 1889. pp. 170-172.
Roosevelt, Theodore. The winning of the west, vol. 2. New York, 1889. p. 179.
Winsor, Justin. The westward movement. Boston, 1897. pp. 188-189.
Parrish, Randall. Historic Illinois. Chicago, 1905. pp. 150-161.
Thwaites, R. C. France in America. New York, 1905. pp. 290-291.
Van Tyne, C. H. The American revolution. New York, 1905. pp. 286-287.
Alvord, C. W. in Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 2, pp. xcii-xciii, cf. p. 231 n. 2.
Boggess, A. C. The settlement of Illinois. Chicago, 1908. p. 38.
Houck, Louis. History of Missouri. vol. 2. St. Louis, 1908. pp. 42-43.
Schuyler, R. L. The transition in Illinois from British to American government. New York, 1909. pp. 98-99.
Chadwick, F. E. The relations of the United States and Spain. Diplomacy. New York, 1909. pp. 23-24.

St. Joseph, Michigan, by the Spaniards in 1781," Missouri Historical Review, vol. 2, 1908.

The account of the expedition given in the present paper is based on the original documents of which the report in the Gazeta de Madrid is a condensation, and which are now in the possession of the University of California. They form part of the Pinart-Bancroft collection in the custody of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. The most important of these documents are the letters of Malliet to Cruzat, January 9, 1781, and Cruzat to Miro, August 6, 1781, with the "act of possession" of February 12, 1781, signed by the officers of the expedition.

There have been noticeable divergencies of opinion among historical writers as to the object with which the expedition was undertaken. It is true the Spanish account published in 1782 stated Cruzat's reasons for sending it out, but these have been uniformily ignored. On the other hand, the origin of the venture has been discovered in the inspiration given by the news of the capture of Mobile by Galvez in March, 1780; or in the desire of the Spaniards to be revenged on the English for the attack on St. Louis in May of the same year; it has also been regarded as "a mere plundering foray." These suggestions do not explain, however, the emergency that necessitated a march of eight hundred miles or more in the depth of winter, and they are wholly without the support of documentary evidence.

The more generally accepted opinion is that the expedition was sent out for the purpose of strengthening the Spanish claim to the territory east of the Mississippi." There is evidence which, at first sight, appears to bear out this conclusion.

In the first place, it was the view taken by both Franklin and Jay, who were, respectively, in France and Spain, when the news of the event reached them. Franklin was convinced that the expedition was a result of the policy of the Spanish court "to coop us up within the Allegheny Mountains." (21) Jay wrote Livingston: "When you consider the ostensible

21. Franklin to Livingston, April 12, and August 12, 1782, Wharton, Revolutionary diplomatic correspondence, V. 300, 657.

"object of this expedition, the distance of it, the formalities "with which the place, the country, and the river were taken "possession of in the name of his Catholic majesty, I am per- "suaded it will not be necessary for me to swell this letter with "remarks that would occur to a reader of far less penetration "than yourself." (22)

In the second place, the subjugation of the territory had been contemplated. The French minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, communicated to Congress, in 1780, "certain articles "which his catholick magesty deemed of great importance to "the interests of his crown." The fourth of these was: "That "the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon "the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclama- "tion [of 1763], are possessions of the crown of Great Britian, "and proper objects against which the arms of Spain may be "employed for the purpose of making a permanent conquest for "the Spanish crown. That such conquest may probably be made "during the present war." (23) The conquest was actually made in February, 1781, and formal possession taken of the country.

In the summer of 1782 when Jay discussed the boundary between the possessions of Spain and the United States with the Conde de Aranda, the latter objected to the line of the Mississippi River. He argued "that the western country "had never belonged to or been claimed as belonging to the "ancient colonies. That previous to the last war it had be- "longed to France, and after its cession to Britain remained a "distinct part of her dominions, until, by the conquest of West "Florida and certain parts on the Mississippi and Illinois, it came vested in Spain." As M. de Rayneval said, "The ques- "tion between Spain and the United States of North America "[was], how to regulate their respective limits toward the "Ohio and the Mississippi." (24)

The conclusion, then, seems almost inevitable that the ex-

22. Jay to Livingston, April 28, 1782, Wharton, op. cit., V, 634.
23. Secret journals of Congress, IV, 72.
24. Jay to Livingston, November 17, 1782, Wharton, op. cit., VI, 22, 25.

pedition under Pourre was sent out by direction of the Spanish court to subserve the ends of European diplomacy.

If this view is accepted a sufficient reason is found for the mid-winter march, but, on the other hand, the conduct of the Spanish officials in Louisiana and Spain becomes incomprehensible. It must be assumed that Cruzat, after displaying exemplary alertness in sending out the expedition, and while cognizant that important interests were at stake, deliberately waited from March 6 until August 6 before writing his official report. It must be assumed that Galvez allowed two months to elapse before transmitting to Spain, under date of October 26, (25) the information that the project had been successful. And, finally, it must be assumed that the report, upon which the claim to a great territory was based, was in the hands of the court for at least two months (26) more before it was published.

That the Spanish court was responsible neither for the expedition nor for the claims founded upon it, is proved, almost beyond question, by Jay himself. In a report made to Congress, dated August 17, 1786, he says: "[The paragraph in the "Madrid Gazette] is the only circumstance or transaction "which your secretary recollects to have heard while in Spain, "which induced him to suppose that his catholick majesty "wished to acquire any lands east of the Mississippi, except "the Floridas. Neither count de Florida Blanca, nor Mr. "Gardoqui, who was then employed, nor Mr. Del Campo, ever "hinted to your secretary that a cession of any territory was "expected or desired of the United States; all that was then "insisted upon was our quitting all claim to the navigation of "the Mississippi below our territories." (27)

It was in Paris, however, that La Luzerne received his instructions in regard to the articles he communicated to Con-

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25. [Joseph de] Galvez to Bernardo de Galvez, January 15, 1782, (in reply to his letter of October 26, 1781), Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 431-432; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 207.

26. The reply is dated January 15, the article appeared in the Gazeta de Madrid, March 12.

27. Secret journals of Congress, IV, 66.

gress, and it was in Paris that Jay heard of the claims to the territory north of the Ohio. There can be little doubt that it was Vergennes and Aranda who contemplated the conquest of these lands in 1780, and who claimed them in 1782, on the basis of a conquest which they could have done nothing to promote. (28)

The expedition was the direct result of information Cruzat had received of active preparations by the English for a second attack on St. Louis in the spring of 1781. The advantage resulting from the success of the expedition, according to the Spanish account of 1782, was that the destruction of the magazine of provisions and goods which the English had at St. Joseph, made it impossible for them to execute their plan of attacking St. Louis; and in addition to this the appearance of a Spanish force served to intimidate the Indians in that vicinity, and to oblige them to remain neutral, "which they do at present."

Cruzat's correspondence shows how ominious the English preparations appeared to him. (29) Of the immediate reason for sending out the expedition we are also informed. On July 8, 1780, Sinclair writing to Haldimand, in regard to the failure of the attack on St. Louis in May, continues: "A like disaster "can not happen next year, and I can venture to assure your "Excellency that one thousand Scioux....will be in the field in "April under Wabasha." (30) On December 19, Cruzat writing to Galvez, in regard to the attack planned by the English for 1781, says: "I have news also that the great chief of the Sios "[Sioux] tribe....is returning to his tribe from Michely Maki-"nak,....with a great quantity of merchandise of all sorts, "not only to arouse his tribe but also those who

28. On the interest shown by Vergennes in the west see Turner, "The policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the period of Washington and Adams," American historical review, X, 253-255.

29. Cruzat to Galvez, November 13, 1780, no. 6; November 14, no. 4; November 14, no. 7; December 18; January 18, 1781; December 2, and 19, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 412-413, 413-415; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 175, 175-177. Also John Todd, Jr., to Jefferson February 1, 1781; "the Spanish and American Illinois settlements are preparing defensively for heavy attacks." Calendar of Virginia state papers, I, 481; Chic. Hist. Soc., Collection, IV, 341.

30. Sinclair to Haldimand, Michilimackinac, July 8, 1780, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collections, IX, 559.

"are near him. Since this Chief called La "Oja [otherwise La Feuille, and Wabasha] ex- "ercises a limitless domination over the spirit of his tribe "and that of the surrounding tribes, it is believed that he will "obtain from all of them whatever he proposes to them." Cruzat here adds, significantly: "Nevertheless, in order to "destroy his intentions, I have determined to take some meas- "ures, of which I shall inform your Lordship after they have "been executed." (31) Just two weeks later the detachment of St. Louis militia under Pourre set out to attack the nearest English post, which was St. Joseph.

If anything is wanting to complete the evidence it is supplied by the fact that Cruzat had before him the example of George Rogers Clark who, in 1779, had undertaken a similar march for a similar purpose. On December 17, 1778, Hamilton, lieutenant-governor at Detroit, retook Vincennes from the Virginians. After this success he set about making extensive preparations for an attack on the Illinois settlements in the ensuing spring. To ward off this blow Clark resorted to the bold expedient of leading his men 200 miles across country in mid-winter. He took Vicennes again on February 24. It seems probable that this example had an important influence on Cruzat's determination.

Without valid evidence—which has not yet been brought forward—in disproof of it, the reason for the expedition given in the official Spanish account must necessarily be accepted. In the emergency that confronted him Cruzat took what he believed to be the best measures to protect St. Louis against impending attack.

III.

To complete this presentation of the subject, another explanation of the origin of the expedition must be noticed, not

31. Cruzat to Galvez, December 19, 1780, Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 413-414; Houck, Spanish regime, 1, 176.

because of its having either merit or probability, but because the author speaks with the prestige of a professor in the University of Illinois.

Professor Alvord says: "It is quite evidence that the ex-"pedition was conceived by the Cahokians to revenge the de-"feat of their friends who had been sent out by [Mottin] de "la Balme, and that a second motive was the hope of plunder-"ing the property which was known to be unprotected at St. "Joseph." (32) He repudiates the Spanish account of the occurrence on the ground that "there is sufficient warrant to sus-"pect the truth of almost every one" of the following points: "First, [that] the expedition was sent out by the Spanish com-"mandant at St. Louis. Second [that] the company was com-"posed of Spanish soldiers and Indians. Third, [that] the com-"manding officer was a Spaniard. Fourth, [that] some English-"men and property were captured. Lastly, [that] the country "was taken possession of in the name of Spain." (33)

The testimony upon which Professor Alvord relies to support his contentions consists of the allusion in McCarty's letter to Slaughter, and "a story which was told in Cahokia," and recorded in The pioneer history of Illinois, by John Reynolds, Belleville, Ill., 1852. With these "two bits of inforation," we are told, "a consistent story can be made out that is not in accord with the Spanish account." (34)

The second item is the keystone of Professor Alvord's critical structure, for without the Malliet story it would be difficult to find reason, in the thirty words of McCarty, for rejecting an authentic official document. Concerning this item, Professor Alvord says, quite correctly, "The story....is all wrong even "to the date, but," he continues, "there are certain signifi-"cant facts about it. The Spanish co-operation is not men-"tioned at all, and the expedition was entirely Cahokian, un-"dertaken to revenge the defeat of the party which had made

32. Missouri Historical Review II, 210. The opinions of the author are also expressed in the Illinois State Historical Library, Collections II, xcii-xciii; and 231,n.2.

33. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 197-198.

34. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 207.

"a previous attack on St. Joseph. The leader was Jean Bap-"tiste Mailhet of Peoria." (35)

The tale is too long and outre to quote, but it does not contain a word to justify the assertion that "the expedition was entirely Cahokian." What Reynolds tells is that Malliet set out from Peoria with "about three hundred warriors, white, mixed and red," to avenge the defeat of Thomas Brady, and that "the wounded men of Brady's party were safely returned to Cahokia" (36)—to which place they belonged. Furthermore, Professor Alvord does not acknowledge that the connection of this story with the Spanish expedition is an inference of his own; he ignores the fact that Reynolds gives the official version when he mentions the Spanish expedition on an immediately succeeding page; and he omits the essential information that Malliet (Maye) was in the Spanish service. (37) The "story told in Cahokia" may be dismissed without further consideration.

In regard to his first "bit of information" Professor Alvord says that McCarty, "in writing the news of Cahokia, "where he was," provides "the best account, because unbiased and given in an incidental way." (38) It is not by any means certain, however, that McCarty was in Cahokia on January 27, for he was in Kaskaskia, January 17-21, (39) and no mention is made of his return. Neither can it be asserted confidently that any statement of his in regard to the Cahokians was unbiased—they had threatened to drive him out of their town, and he left it under arrest.

There is no inherent improbability, however, in the statement that twenty Cahokians joined the force from St. Louis.

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35. Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 207. Elsewhere Professor Alvord says: "More errors in the histories of the state may be traced back to his [Reynolds] statements than to any other one source." Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, II, xvii n.2.

36. Reynolds, Pioneer history of Illinois, 2d ed. Chicago, 1887. pp. 122-123.

37. Navarro to Cruzat, February 15, 1781. Wis. Hist. Soc., Collections, XVIII, 422; Houck, Spanish regime, I, 201. Cited by Alvord, Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 203 n. 25, as "Galvez to Cruzat."

38. Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, II, xciii, n.2.

39. Illinois State Hist. Library, Collections, V, 216-217.

40. Ill. State Hist. Lib., Collections, V, 123.

The interests of the inhabitants on the two sides of the river were, in this matter, identical; they would be equally endangered by a British attack, as they had been in the previous spring. On the other hand, it does not seem probable that 250 men, to take McCarty's figures, would have set out to travel eight or nine hundred miles in the depth of winter to revenge themselves for the death of four unnamed individuals. It is not probable that after such exertion they would have been content with the "capture" of eight Canadians, who were subsequently handed over to the commandant of St. Louis. It is entirely improbable, if Professor Alvord is correct, that they would have divided the plunder among the Indians.

So far as Cruzat was concerned the situation was far too grave to admit of sending away, for any but the most urgent reasons, an appreciable part of the military force at his command for the defense, not merely of St. Louis, but of the entire Mississippi Valley. He was confronted, in that winter of 1780, not only with the certainty of an English attack, but with fear of the Illionis settlers making their peace with the English, and even of Clark joining with the latter in an attack on the Spanish dominions.

On September 22, 1780, Cruzat wrote to Galvez: "there is "a rumor, althought it is not confirmed, (41) that said inhabi- "tants are or were projecting sending a courier to the Strait "[Detroit], declaring themselves to be English vassals and "begging protection from the Sovereign of the English." (42)

On December 22, 1780, he wrote that there was news of peace between the American colonies and England, and continued: "It is morally certain that, if the Americans should "separate from our alliance they will work against us and "that then, united with the English of Canada, they can form "an expedition in these districts for the conquest of Ilinueses "and all the rest of the colony." (43)

It will not be necessary to examine Professor Alvord's

41. But it was justified, see Bentley to Haldimand, Mich. Hist. Soc., Collection, XIX, 561-562.
42. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 180.
43. Houck, Spanish regime, I, 178.

argument in greater detail, or to make further comment on his historical method. (44)

The only admissible explanation of the expedition is the one given by Cruzat and embodied in the account printed in Madrid in 1782.

Philip Mazzei wrote to Jefferson, February 8, 1780: "I "have often admired the scrupulous regard paid to truth in the "Gazette of both Nations [France and Spain], as well at the decency of their expressions." (45) That this opinion is not completely shared by American historical students is evident from Professor Alvord's paper. As, however, the history of Spanish activities within the present boundaries of the United States is receiving an ever increasing amount of attention, it is of importance to know whether the documents available for such study are found, in given instances, to be unreliable when tested critically by other evidence. The present examination shows that while the paragraph from the Gazeta de Madrid, of March 12, 1782, has been subjected to various forms of criticism, a close investigation leaves its credibility unimpaired.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

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44. Protest must, however, be entered against his misstatement of fact in disparagement of E. G. Mason's paper, Mo. Hist. Rev., II, 197.

45. Calendar of Virginia state papers, 1, 337.

CHRIST CHURCH PARISH, BOONVILLE, COOPER COUNTY, MISSOURI.

MISSOURI AND THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

From time to time as the years roll by, it becomes expedient to review the past and from our knowledge and research recite to those around us such information as we have been able to collect, and to that end your historian will strive to remind those of riper years, and instruct the more youthful, in things pertaining to Missouri and The Church. In dealing with this subject justice to other co-workers in the Church-Militant suggests that we briefly refer to them and their credit for work done in furthering the cause of religion, thus serving the two-fold purpose of showing what they did, and also that the Protestant Episcopal Church was always in the van-guard in the march of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

We will aim chiefly to take this Church's growth along with the growth of the State, and thus down to a brief history of Christ Church, Boonville. Missouri became United States property in 1803, when Napoleon sold it to the United States, and in March 1804 the American flag was raised in St. Louis. Prior to this time, the country being under the flags of Spain and France, the Roman Catholics controlled ecclesiastically, and no Protestant Church was allowed. Soon after this purchase, however, a great many Protestants came into the country, but were too scattered to organize, and from about 1804 preachers of different denominations went from place to place and held services, generally in private houses.

We find that in 1806 the Baptists organized Bethel Church, at Cape Girardeau and in 1816 the Presbyterians organized a church in St. Louis. However, the Methodists held services as early as 1807 and the Presbyterians as early as 1813.

In 1819 Rev. John Ward, of Lexington, Kentucky, visited St. Louis and held the first services of the Episcopal Church in a public hall on October 24th. A week later forty-seven persons signed a subscription list pledging themselves to the support of a minister, the list amounting to $1,714 That was headed by Thomas F. Riddick for $100. Shortly after this nucleus was pledged, the Parish, now embraced by Christ Church Pro-Cathedral, St. Louis, was organized. It was the third Protestant Church in the State, showing, as we said before, that the Protestant Episcopal Church was always forward in the advanced fighting line of the Church-Militant, battling for the right and privilege of spreading the glad tidings of the gospel. In 1829 the first church edifice of the Protestant Episcopal Church was built and in 1840 a second Parish was organized at Boonville.

This brings us to the Diocese of Missouri, with which we will deal very briefly, still showing the growth of the Church in Missouri and the connecting link with the Diocese of West Missouri, of which this Parish was a part until the name was changed to the Diocese of Kansas City. The first Bishop having jurisdiction over this Diocese was the Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of Missouri and Indiana. Bishop Kemper thus served the Diocese from 1835 to 1844. After him Kemper College, near St. Louis, the first Episcopal school in the state, was named.

Bishop Kemper was succeeded by Bishop Cicero Stephens Hawks, who was really the first Bishop of Missouri. He was the rector of Christ Church, St. Louis, being also elected to the Bishopric of Missouri. On account, however, of the poverty of the new diocese, he continued his duties as rector of Christ Church, also serving the Diocese as Bishop until his death on April 19th, 1868. Bishop Hawks married Miss Ada Leonard, of Fayette, in the adjoining county of Howard and is thus of local interest. He was succeeded by Bishop Charles F. Robinson, who served the Diocese from 1868 to 1886 in a most acceptable manner. Bishop Robinson was succeeded by Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, still the loved and revered Bishop of the Diocese of Missouri.

In 1891, the charge becoming too large and arduous for one man, the new Diocese of West Missouri was organized, the name being afterwards changed to the Diocese of Kansas City, over which our late beloved Bishop E. R. Atwill, was elected to preside, and through the blessing of God labored for over twenty years for our up-building and growth, both physically and spiritually. The Diocese, however, was not long without a spiritual head, for on March 8th, 1911, a Diocesan Convention was held at Kansas City by which Right Reverend Sidney Catlin Partridge, Missionary Bishop of Japan, was unanimously elected as Bishop of the "Diocese of Kansas City." The See City of this Diocese is Kansas City and we will briefly treat of the Church there:

In 1857 Bishop Hawks visited Kansas City and addressed a large congregation. The only Church there was a Missionary Church, or one assisted by the Missionary Board, until 1868. The first clergyman sent to Kansas City was Rev. Joseph I. Corbyn, in November, 1857, who was a brother of our Mr. Almon D. Corbyn, and who preached in this city only a few years ago. In December of that year he organized St. Luke's Church, so named at the special request of Bishop Hawks, and from which the present St. Mary's springs, the name having been changed to St. Mary's.

Easter services of 1858 were held in the court house and there were then only five communicants in the parish. From this small number of communicants as a nucleus we should feel at least encouraged when for 1908 we are able to report in our See City the following Parishes and Missions, mostly strong and influential, battling against the world, the flesh and the devil and spreading the gospel of Christ: St. Mary's, St. Paul's, Trinity, St. Marks. St. Georges, Grace and St. Augustine's and St. John's Missions and Holy Spirit and Grace Unorganized Missions.

Time limit will now compel us to abbreviate as much as possible, a local history of this our own ecclesiastical home, the

Diocese of Kansas City, Missouri, and Christ Church, Boonville.

When we remember that in 1840 Christ Church, Boonville, was the only organized Parish in the present Diocese of Kansas City, Lexington having been organized in 1845 and Fayette in 1847, we should review with interest the following brief recital of the present strength of the Diocese. It had in 1908, sixty-seven parishes and organized and unorganized missions, fifty-three priests, deacons and lay-readers, over five thousand communicants, and church edifices of a value of about $500,000. It had also in 1900, forty Sunday Schools, with two hundred and ninety-eight teachers and two thousand, two hundred and eighty-one pupils. Her contributions for that year amounted to nearly $60,000. (We use 1900 because we have not the other data at hand.)

In Boonville, as in the State, it will be seen that the Episcopal Church is again well abreast of the front rank with the Soldiers of the Cross. The Baptists organized a Church at Concord in this county in May, 1817, but did not organize in Boonville until 1843; the Methodists were here as the Lamine Circuit in 1817 and 1818, but Boonville Circuit was organized as late as 1834; the Presbyterians were at Old Franklin in 1821, but moved to Boonville in 1830, bought their church lot in 1833 and completed their church building in 1841, while this Church, the Episcopal, was here in 1835 and organized in 1840.

The records of the Boonville Parish were in some way lost or destroyed during the "War Between the States," and consequently the official history of the Church is not to be found among its archives from 1837 to 1863, the period covered by the lost records. In 1890 your historian was requested by Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle to prepare a brief history of this Parish for use at the Jubilee Convention held at Christ Church, St. Louis May 22nd, 1890. We will therefore formulate briefly as connected a history of the Church here as we can, from the links of dates and events gathered from those among

the older members of the Parish then residing here, and from whoever else were able to give us any data, from which to trace the thread of a history of its lineage, or on which to base a connected recital.

This Parish is probably older than the Diocese of Missouri and is certainly only next to Christ Church, St. Louis, in age. The first evidence we have been able to find of the Church at Boonville is when it was a Mission in 1837, though even prior to that, in 1835, occasional services were held. These services were likely held by Rev. F. F. Peak, who in all probability was the pioneer preacher of this Church, and we know he preached and taught here in 1836. Doubtless the nucleus of the church was here for several years before and had its beginning in the work of the following families, whose descendents are still among the Church people of this and other Parishes throughout the State: the Buckners, Perrys, Gillespies, Massies, Megquires, Powells, Mortons, Gardiners, Stocktons, Redmons, Thompsons, Merrills and others, who were active in church work in those early days. Among the constituent members of the first organization were Dr. E. E. Buckner and wife, Richard Thompson and wife, Mrs. Tompkins and C. B. Powell and wife.

Mr. Peak was the first Episcopal minister who ever landed at Boonville, besides probably having preached here in 1835, came here as a Missionary in 1837. He preached while here in what was then the Jefferson House, on the corner of Sixth and High streets, diagonally northwest from the court house. Just how long Mr. Peak remained here is not known, but he was compelled to leave here on account of the ill-health of his wife. His work here probably covered about four years. Rev. F. F. Peak was succeeded by Rev. James D. Mead, who likewise held services in the Jefferson House. Mr. Mead staid here about two years and was also obliged to leave on account of ill-health. He was succeeded in the spring of 1844 by Rev. Almond D. Corbyn, to whom this congregation is doubtless indebted for the present church building, much of which was built with his own hands. When Mr. Corbyn first came to

Boonville he held services in what is today Weland's Carriage Factory. After that he conducted services in a long frame building on the southeast corner of Spring and Main streets, the corner on which the Farmers' Bank now stands. In 1844 Mr. Corbyn was kindly loaned a pipe organ by some one at Jefferson City. In December of that year he got the late Mr. C. F. Aehle to go down and conduct its removal to Boonville, and on Christmas morning of 1844 the first pipe organ ever played in Boonville was heard in "the long frame building" used as a church. Mr. C. F. Aehle then became organist, which position he filled for about twenty-five years. The services are said to have been so well attended that as many heard from the outside as worshipped on the inside. About a year prior to this, Right Reverend Jackson Kemper, Missionary Bishop of Missouri and Indiana, landed at Boonville, being the first Episcopal Bishop who had ever visited the Church.

Soon after Mr. Corbyn took charge an effort was made to build a church, some money having been collected in the Eastern cities by Mr. C. B. Powell, probably over two thousand dollars, but who unfortunately lost it on his way home. The faithful few, however, renewed their efforts and collected sufficient means to make a start. The corner stone of a church was first laid on a lot diagonally across Fourth street from the present building—on the lot now owned by Judge John H. Zollinger, but a flaw having been discovered in the title it was removed to where the church building now stands. The church was finally completed, however, by the untiring efforts of Mr. Corbyn, who toiled and labored on it with his own hands and means until, after many difficulties and discouragements, his zeal and energy were rewarded by success. This church building was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God, by Bishop Hawks, in 1845, as near as we have been able to ascertain. The Church flourished under the rectorship of Mr. Corbyn. He succeeded in replacing the borrowed Jefferson City organ, which he returned, with a very good one-bank pipe organ, making also many other improvements in the Church, which afterwards, as a token of love for him and ap-

preciation of his labors, placed to his memory the black marble tablet, still in the wall of this Church. The present rectory was also built by Mr. Corbyn in 1850.

In the meantime Mr. Corbyn married Miss Virginia Teackle Buckner, who, with her children and grandchildren, continued to worship in the temple, the erection of which is so freely accredited to his zeal and energy. Mr. Corbyn remained pastor of the Church until 1852, when he resigned.

Rev. D. Gordon Estes succeeded Mr. Corbyn, but only remained here one year, and in turn was succeeded by Rev. R. E. Terry, in 1853. To Mr. Terry the Church is in a measure indebted for the new organ, which furnished the music of the Church for so many years, and until recently replaced by a much costlier instrument. Mr. Terry also conceived the idea of purchasing and conducting the Adelphi College, which, however, proved a failure, the liabilities falling on a few of the parishioners who came forward and paid them.

Rev. George P. Giddings, who served the Parish for several years, succeeded Mr. Terry. After Mr. Giddings left, the Parish was under the charge of Rev. S. S. Southard, a son of Hon. S. S. Southard, Secretary of the Navy under President John Quincy Adams, who remained but a short time. Mr. Southard was succeeded in 1861 by Rev. Thomas Smith, who likewise remained but a brief period. For the next two years, on account of the unsettled conditions of things, the Parish was virtually vacant, only such services being held as were given by any itinerant or missionary clergyman visiting Boonville. On June 1st, 1863, Rev. F. R. Holman became rector of the Parish, but refusing to "take the oath," he was banished to Canada during the war and in December of that year resigned the rectorship.

Rev. S. G. Callahan then happened to visit Boonville, and being introduced to the Vestry took temporary charge of the Parish. He only preached a few times, when he went to the country, near Bunceton, where he died after being there about eighteen months. Really the Parish never was officially under his charge, so it was vacant at that time and until Feb-

ruary, 1867, when Rev. F. R. Holman again became its rector, and remained about three years, resigning in January, 1870. During his rectorship the Parish increased from thirty-one to ninety-eight, besides confirmed non-communicants amounting in all to one hundred and twenty-four members.

Mr. Holmes was succeeded by Rev. George H. Ward, who remained in charge of the Parish until the end of 1874, during whose charge your historian, a Churchman, came to Boonville, making the remainder of this recital personal reminiscences. Rev. Abiel Leonard, afterwards Bishop of Nevada and Utah, then took temporary charge of the Parish until July, 1875, when Rev. George Moore was called, who served the Parish until succeeded by Rev. J. M. Curtis in January, 1876. Rev. Dr. Curtis remained in charge of the Parish until February 20th, 1881. During his stay here he also gave to All Saints Church, Nevada, and Calvary, Sedalia, such services as his local duties would permit of, a memorandum of which work he left in his records here. After Mr. Curtis resigned Rev. Custis P. Jones accepted the charge for six months, his term expiring in July 1882.

Shortly after this the Vestry invited Mr. J. J. Wilkins to read the services, and under license from Bishop Robinson he did so until June, 1884, when he was made a Deacon in this Church. He was then officially called by the Vestry on August 5th, 1884, and remained in charge of this, his first Parish, until January, 1886, when he accepted a call to Sedalia. On May 16th, 1886, a call was extended to Rev. Henry Truro Bray, who took charge in June following, and resigned September 1st, 1888. On October 15th, 1888, Rev. J. M. C. Fulton visited the Parish and on November 12th took charge as rector, which charge he resigned November 1st, 1889. During his time here he also served the Missions at Tipton and Versailles.

For the next six months or more the Church was kept open by lay services by your historian, all credit for his doing so being justly due to the zeal of the late Mr. Fulton. On July 1st, 1890, Rev. Henry Mackey became its rector, and re-

mained such until forced by ill health to give up the active work of the ministry, he resigned this, his last charge, July 1st, 1900, having served the Parish most acceptably for just ten years. After Mr. Mackay's resignation we were again served most acceptably by a layman—Mr. E. A. Sherrod, a student for the orders of the Episcopal ministry, and who afterwards took orders and became rector of the Parish, which he served until 1902.

Mr. Sherrod was succeeded by Rev. Henry L. A. Fick, who came to us from New York and gave the Church good service until 1904, when he, in turn, after another vacancy, was succeeded by Rev. C. R. Stearns, who had charge of the Parish until 1908, when he resigned. In December, 1908, Rev. Silas Cook Walton, an English clergyman of a vast experience and possessed of a most resourceful ability and adaptability in the cause of his Master, took charge, giving the Parish the most untiring service until his death on May 25th, 1910. Since this time the Parish has again been vacant but not without service, as the Church is regularly opened for morning services by one of its three lay-readers, M. E. Schmidt, George T. Irvine or S. W. Ravenel.

It is but justice to these laymen to say that since 1888 the doors of the Church have never been allowed to be closed for want of the services of a rector, as one or the other of these lay readers have been on hand to perform that service, or read the Burial of the Dead at any time that the Parish was without a rector in charge or during the absence of the rector.

S. W. RAVENEL, Senior Warden.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY, MISSOURI.

A large portion of Central North Missouri has been styled "The Grand River Valley"—a region of great fertility of soil, diversified by numerous water courses, large bodies of timber and prairie, and when its other natural advantages are taken into account, it may well be classed as the equal of any other section of Missouri.

I do not know that the exact limits of what is called "The Grand River Valley" have ever been defined. It may, however, be safely assumed, that the region in question includes all the territory watered by Grand River and its tributary streams, thus embracing the counties of Chariton, Carroll, Linn, Livingston, Caldwell, Daviess, Grundy, Harrison, Mercer and Sullivan, a splendid domain, a magnificent group of counties.

Livingston county occupying a central position among the counties named, was organized pursuant to an act of the General Assembly of Missouri, in February, 1837. Few persons now, I apprehend, are aware of the close relationship existing between Livingston and Howard counties. In fact, and to use a metaphor, Livingston may well be called the daughter of Howard—"the mother of counties." In an address some years ago, at Huntsville, Missouri, at the annual reunion of the Pioneer Settlers of Randolph and Macon counties, the late Col. W. F. Switzler, the veteran journalist and author of the History of Missouri, made the following statement:

"Take a position on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Kaw, now Kansas City, proceed due north to the southern boundary line of Iowa, in truth, several miles beyond that line, into the territory of Iowa, then due east to the high ridge of ground, known as the headwaters of Cedar creek, now forming the boundary line between Boone and Callaway and descend the Cedar to its confluence with the Missouri river, at Jefferson

City, thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage river, thence up that crooked stream to a point near Schell City, in Vernon county, then due west to the Kansas line, thence north along that line to the place of beginning; this was Howard county, now comprising 36 counties of the state —22 and a part of 3 others south of the Missouri river and 14 and part of five others north of it—an area of 22,000 square miles—larger than ancient Greece, larger than Saxony and Switzerland combined; larger than Vermont, Massachusetts, Delaware and Rhode Island united."

The peculiar topography of Livingston county must have made it a very attractive region for the Indian of the early days. Here was found the ideal of the Indian's hunting ground; with Grand river, having branches heading in the state of Iowa, flowing down in a southern and southeasterly direction, uniting and forming the main river at a point three miles west of Chillicothe, thence flowing on to the southeast corner of the county emptying into the Missouri river, about a mile west of Brunswick, and augmented throughout its course by numerous tributaries, some almost rivers of themselves, and skirted with heavy bodies of timber, covering the bottoms on either side, extending in many instances to the foot of the high prairies and there terminating in dense thickets of brushy growth. Under such favoring conditions, it is easy to conceive that here was a favorite resort for deer, elk and fur bearing animals of the various kinds. Nor should it excite any wonder that it was here the Indian delighted to rove, pitch his tent, establish villages and prosecute his daily hunt for game; such was actually the case, for it is a historical fact, that as late as the year 1828 and for many years prior to that date, a French trading post was maintained, in the south part of Livingston county, on the bluff opposite the mouth of Locust creek and established to trade with the Indians. The Indians furnished their pelts and peltries and other fruits of the chase, and in exchange received from the trader their coveted supplies of tobacco, whiskey, guns, ammunition, blankets, flour, sugar and coffee. About the year 1828, this

post was abandoned, owing to the fact, either that the Indians' source of revenue was fast becoming exhausted, or that preparations were then under way looking to their removal further west, to give way to the advancing tide of civilization. Some years after the post was abandoned and on the same site, the first village in Livingston county was located and went by the name of "Coon Town," afterwards called Granville, where more or less business was done until about the year 1855, the town was abandoned, and its buildings torn down and removed.

Today, a brush thicket occupies the site of the former bustling village, and as the name of "Coon Town" was first adopted by its inhabitants, it may be inferred that at that date, while the larger game had measuredly disappeared in that section, the coon still remained and flourished in the heavily timbered bottoms of Grand river and its tributaries, and thus furnished the basis of a large trade in "coon skins," a commodity then as now, in demand for the manufacture of hats and other uses, and it may be further inferred, that on the wane of the coon the business in that direction languished and finally ceased altogether. In this connection, it may be observed that in the History of Caldwell and Livingston counties published in 1885, it is claimed that Daniel Boone, the illustrious pioneer of Kentucky, after his removal to St. Charles county in this state, and about the year 1800, spent a winter on Grand river, erected his hut or cabin and set his traps for beaver and otter, but, on wandering some miles from his camp he discovered unmistakable signs of the presence of Indians in that locality and a deep snow having fallen, he feared the Indians might discover his place of retreat, and hence remained in his cabin twenty days when a thaw came, releasing his canoe from the ice and thus enabling him to retire in safety down the river on his return to his home in St. Charles county. But the correctness of this statement has been disputed. Some years ago, the late Col. W. F. Switzler, in a letter to the writer hereof, and in reply to an inquiry as to Daniel Boone's alleged presence on Grand river at the time mentioned, uses this

language: "No difference what anybody says, old Daniel Boone never made an excursion up Grand river in 1800 or any other time and never was on the territory now occupied by Boone, Howard or Livingston counties." This statement was corroborated some years ago, by the Hon. Phil E. Chappell, now deceased, once State Treasurer of Missouri and remarkably well informed as to the early history of Missouri.

L. T. COLLIER.

Kansas City, Mo., May 23, 1911.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI CEMETERIES.

Fourth Paper.

The following inscriptions are from monuments in the Evangelical cemetery at Jefferson City:

Maragret B. Asel born Nov. 27, 1829, died April 9, 1891.
John M. Asel born Feb. 27, 1825, died April 2, 1873.
Barbara Bassman geb. Ott Dec. 4, 1820, gest. March 12, 1907.
George Bassman geb. Sept. 27, 1822, gest. July 8, 1893.
Agetha Blank born Dec. 20, 1820, died April 9, 1897.
Sophia Eva Deeg geb. July 19, 1822, gest. Sept. 16, 1895.
Ida Hartwig geb. Jens gest. Aug. 3, 1902, alter 70 yr, 10 m, 2 d.
Susanna Hehenberger geb. July 4, 1817, gest. March 25, 1880.
Philipp Hess geb. Aug. 17, 1820, gest. March 21, 1895.
Kath. Hess geb. Dec. 21, 1825, gest. June 16, 1894.
Friedricke Hundhausen mother of W. H. Morlock, 1812-1894.
Sophia Jens geb. Fras Sept. 20, 1824, gest. Nov. 25, 1888.
J. Fried, Jens geb. Oct. 2, 1823, gest. June 21, 1896.
Elizabeth Kieselbach geb. Feb. 2, 1811, gest. March 5, 1889.
Johann M. Korn geb. April 1, 1795, gest. April 13, 1879.
August Kramp geb. Aug. 18, 1818, gest. J— 7, 1886.
Auguste Krueger geb. Nov. 26, 1828, gest. Jan. 15, 1907.
Fritz Krueger geb. Nov. 9, 1827, gest. March 16, 1895.
Maria Meier geb. Jens Oct. 7, 182—, gest. Sept. 5 1881.
Heinrich Reinke geb. Dec. 26, 1840, Feb. 19, 1901.
Mette G. Reinke geb. Madsen Sept. 5, 1841, gest. July 14, 1894.
Henrietta Rieger geb. Wilkens zu Bremen Sept. 13, 1817 gest. zu Washington, Mo. May 5, 1885.
Joseph Rieger Pastor Deutsch. Ev. Gemeinde zu Jeff. City, geb. zu Aurach in Baden April 23, 1811, gest. Aug 20, 1869.

Anna Kath. Rosner geb. Dec. 27, 1809, gest. July 1, 1882.
George Russler geb. Nov. 17, 1823, gest. Feb. 25, 1887.
Anna H. Sahr geb. Feb. 1, 1823, gest. Feb. 16, 1904.
Johann Sahr geb. Jan. 13, 1824, gest. Oct. 16, 1897.
John G. Schmidt geb. Sept. 25, 1824, gest. Aug. 14, 1908.
Maria Schmidt geb. July 28, 1830, gest. April 29, 1900.
Johann Schneider geb. March 31, 1821, gest. March 3, 1891.
Margaretha Schneider geb. April 18, 1817, gest. March 13, 1887.
Lorenz Seifert geb. May 26, 1833, gest. Jan. 4, 1903.
Wilhelmine Seifert geb. March 28, 1835, gest. March 5, 1901.
Theresia Stroebel geb. Hehenberger, Nov. 6, 1841, gest. Oct. 24, 1877.
Matth. Stroebel geb. Jan. 2, 1811, gest. Sept. 4, 1868.
Anna K. Wagner geb. Wolfrum zu Mussen Bayern April 23, 1823, gest. April 3, 1903.
George Wagner geb. zu Schwarzach, Bayern, Feb. 13, 1821, gest. Sept. 24, 1895.
Johann N. Zahn geb. Nov. 22, 1809, gest. June 3, 1883.

The following are from the Lutheran cemetery at Jefferson City:

Fredrich W. Albersmeier geb. June 21, 1836, gest. Nov. 21, 1867.
Pauline F. wife of C. Arnhold born Jan. 28, 1823, Died Dec. 15, 1852.
Conrad Beck geb. April 30, 1823, gest. June 9, 1892.
Clamor A. Brauer geb. Dec. 20, 1824, gest. Aug. 12, 1867.
Clara Brauer born Aug. 5, 1824, died March 19, 1906.
Katharine Fuchs geb. Heroth Nov. 11, 1800, gest. Jan. 30, 1884.
Ludwig Graessle geb. April 1, 1829, gest Sept. 8, 1873.
Thomas von Gruen geb. June 25, 1814, gest. April 5, 1894, und seine gattin
Barbara geb. Singer June 25, 1804, gest. Feb. 27, 1894.
Johann W. Hager geb. Feb. 8, 1829, in Ahornborg, Bayern, gest. Feb. 3, 1899.

Barbara M. Hager geb. April 2, 1830, in Walmersreith, Bayern gest. June 10, 1900.
Kunigunda Hensel born April 7, 1819, died April 5, 1901.
Johan Hoffman geb. March 6, 1822, gest. Nov. 4, 1907.
Margaretha Hoffman geb. Aug. 16, 1831.
Hermann Holz geb. 1810, gest. April 8, 1835.
Johanna M. Krueger geb. April 9, 1821, gest. May 7, 1901.
Johann C. Max geb. Aug. 15, 1829, gest. Feb. 1, 1901.
Eva K. Max geb. Nov. 1, 1821, gest Jan. 25, 1908.
Karl G. Michael geb. Oct. 16, 1827, gest. Dec. 21, 1906.
Margaritha Meier geb. April 9, 1790, gest. June 28, 1881.
J. Ernstine Michael geb. Dec. 6, 1832, Vermaehlt Feb. 20, 1856, gest. Dec. 29, 1893.
Geo. L. Ott geb. June 11, 1813, gest. Dec. 11, 1886.
Elizabeth Ott geb. Aug. 1, 1816, gest. Jan 15, 1890.
Ambrosius Rauh geb. zu Markesreith Baiern Feb. 16, 1820, gest. June 21, 1903.
Margaretha Rauh geb. Kiessling aus Weissdorf Aug. 4, 1826, gest. Sept. 13, 1897.
Philip J. Routszonz born May 6, 1803, died Nov. 12, 1854.
Christian Routzon born March 10, 1771, died Nov. 25, 1852.
Mary B. wife of Christian Routzon born Aug. 25, 1774, died April 7, 1855.
Johann Schmidt geb. April 29, 1821, gest. Jan. 29, 1887.
Kunigunda Schmidt geb. Jan. 13, 1820, gest. April 30, 1889.
Christopher Schneider geb. Sept. 1807, gest. June 7, 1864.
Valentin Werkman geb. March 30, 1804, gest. Aug. 31, 1864.
Anna M. Woehrmann geb. Feb. 2, 1809, gest. Feb. 7, 1892.
Gerhard Woehrmann geb. June 2, 1810, gest. Sept. 24. 1875.
Elizabeth wife of John Yost died 1865 aged 54 years.
John Yost died 1876 aged 62 years.
Christopher Yost died 1869 aged 27 years. Serg. Co. H. 100th Pa. Vet. Vols.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Advance Advocate. Published by the International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employes. Vol. xix, St. Louis, 1910.

This volume uniformly bound with seven others lately presented to the Society by the publishers contains much of interest to the members of the organization whose organ it is; and also much of interest to the general reader. The Society is pleased to have so many of the volumes of this periodical, and hopes for many similar donations.

Ancient Curious and Famous Wills by **Virgil M. Harris,** member of the St. Louis bar, Lecturer on Wills in the St. Louis University Institute of Law, trust officer of the Mercantile Trust Company of St. Louis. Boston, 1911.

This is a work of interest to the legal profession, to Trust Company officials and to lovers of literature.

The book is divided into seven chapters:

I. Practical Suggestions for Will-Writing.
II. Ancient Wills.
III. Wills in Fiction and Poetry.
IV. Curious Wills, under Five Headings.
V. Testamentary and Kindred Miscellany.
VI. Wills of Famous Foreigners.
VII. Wills of Famous Americans.

The book gives about five hundred wills obtained from various parts of the world from the earliest times to that of Mary Baker Eddy.

Such a work has never before been attempted in America, though in England and in France there are similar productions of high merit. The book is a distinct addition to legal literature, as well as a medium of precedent and aid to Trust

Companies and all who have to do with wills, legacies, and the settlement of estates, and Mr. Harris is to be commended for his exhaustive research and labor.

Domestic Science, a Text in Cooking and Syllabus in Sewing, by **Gertrude T. Johnson.** Second edition. Kansas City, 1911.

This work was prepared for use in the Kansas City elementary schools by one of the teachers of Kansas City, and contains the fundamental theories of foods and their functions, together with more than two hundred receipts. The book is an excellent one for family use, as well as for class work in the schools.

Missouri Historical Society Collections. Vol. III, No. 3, 1911.

This number of the publication issued by the historical society in St. Louis has 130 pages of great interest to the Missouri historical students. The society will be fortunate in having a home in the building to be erected in Forest Park by the World's Fair directors.

Sonnets and Songs by **John Rothensteiner.** St. Louis, B. Herder, 1911.

This book of 27 pages of verse, by one of the trustees of this society, and pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost in St. Louis, is a welcome addition to eight other publications of the same author in the library of the society.

Unusual Quotation and Gems of Verse. Compiled by **Mrs. Adele Spalding.** St. Louis, n. d.

This is a handsomely printed book of well chosen selections on various subjects, and its possessor will often find it will furnish him the quotation that he may be wanting. The compiler lives at Brookfield, and her book is on sale at the Missouri Store.

Gems of Thought Gathered Along Life's Pathway. By **Alonzo Thompson.** Chicago. Privately printed. 1910.

We have received the above finely printed and bound book of poems by a former Missourian, and more than eighty-two years old, but still loving to make rhymes and indulge in poetic work. The two hundred pages of the book have tributes to arisen friends, thoughts along life's pathway and miscellaneous poems. The author now lives at Bismarck, North Dakota.

History of Salem Association of Primitive Baptists of Missouri from the organization in 1827 including the session of 1910. By **Elder Ira Turner.** St. Joseph. 1911.

The different branches of the Baptist church have been called "Baptist," "Old Baptists," "Particular Baptists," "Regular Baptists," "Primitive Baptists," "Missionary Baptists," "General Baptists," "Free Will Baptists," the above association belonging to the branch generally known as "Regular Baptists." In the early days in this state when the Mission question divided many churches and associations, the Mt. Pleasant Association was organized in 1818, and afterwards divided into the two associations belonging to "Baptist," and the "Regular Baptists," the present yearly meeting being numbered the ninety-fourth by each association. The Salem Association was organized from the Mt. Pleasant Association in the year 1827, Elder Turner traces the history of it each year from that time to the present, and incidentally tells of the points in which the Regular Baptist Church differs from the larger body, and claims that the entire body of Baptists originally held the same doctrines that are now held by this body which takes a prefix to designate this organization, and he evidently thinks that it should have been the present larger Baptist body, that should be known by the prefix name instead of its being to the one to which the above Association belongs.

General History of Macon County, Missouri. Chicago. Henry Taylor & Company. 1910.

The above short title page is somewhat in contrast to the

prevailing style in the county histories of years ago, which approached in their fullness a table of contents.

The foreword commences with a quotation from Macauley, that will bear repetition very frequently till it is firmly fixed in the minds of the citizen:—"A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered by remote descendants."

The history of the county seems to be presented in a well arranged plan, giving in 270 pages of the work the early pioneer times, and their contests with the Indians, the courts, the press, the schools, the churches and other matters making up the history of the county.

The remaining part of the 945 pages are the biographical part of the work. This part like the other is of much value, and will hereafter be in constant use by the biographer and genealogist, and by all who are interested in the men and women who made the early history of one of the large counties of the State.

Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Missouri, "1910 Red Book," Jefferson City, n. d.

The above is a volume of more than 700 pages, a great mass of information about the State. Part V of the book has also been issued as a separate under the title "Miscellaneous Information, Missouri, 1909-10."

In this is an account of Ha Ha Tonka, the former Gunter Spring, of Camden county, of which Bayard Taylor said, "I have traveled all over the world, to find here in the heart of Missouri the most magnificent scenery human eye ever beheld." Dr. Jenney, of the United States Geological Survey, spent some days there photographing, and said that while he had spent much of his life in the mountains, he had never before found a neighborhood that would furnish so many fine photographic views. The editor of the Review is pleased to have many of these views which he saw taken by Dr. Jenney.

General History of Shelby County, Missouri. Chicago.

Henry Taylor & Company. 1911. Henry Taylor, Jr. W. H. Bingham.

This is the second one of the new style county histories of Missouri, for which two we are indebted to Mr. Bingham of the publishing firm.

The 671 pages of the work include the general history and the biographical history of the county in a very satisfactory manner.

NOTES.

Ho. Alonzo Tubbs calls our attention to an error in Prof. Hodder's paper at page 141 of the April number of the Review in which he referred to the killing of a son of John B. C. Lucas in a duel, and gave his name as Benton Lucas, instead of Charles Lucas, his correct name.

In the Missouri Historical Review for January, 1908, there was an interesting paper on Rev. Jesse Walker, the Apostle of the Wilderness, by Rev. J. Spencer, of Slater, Missouri, in which it was shown that Rev. Walker was the first organizer of the Methodist church in St. Louis and also in Chicago, and that he was the first Presiding Elder of the Methodist Church in Illinois. The Rock River Conference of the Methodist Church is now about to erect a monument over his grave at Plainfield, Illinois, eight miles west of Joliet. It will be of Barre granite, will weigh seven tons, and have a suitable bronze tablet. The famous Rev. Peter Cartwright received his license to preach from Jesse Walker.

Among the publications made at the last session of the General Assembly are two publications of the report of a special committee in both of which the title of the commissioner is given different from that which the law gives him. However, in the body of the report the title is given correctly, and the mistake is in the title page of the report.

An organization of the patriotic societies and the Historical Society of Kansas City has been made to provide for properly marking, with a monument, the site of the Battle of Westport.

A letter received by the editor of the Review from one of our members, Homer Calkins, editor of "The Pacific Transcript," at Pacific, Missouri, has several matters of interest, and some of compliment to the Review. The paper on the Mormon troubles in Missouri gave him new, and he thinks correct information in regard to the history of those troubles that did not redound to the credit of the state. Mr. Calkins tells of a company raised in Franklin county for the Mormon "war," that has no record in the Adjutant General's office, nor in any of publications relating to Franklin county. His informant was David P. Wood, who was an old resident and remembered playing with the Indian boys in the early days.

The young men of the county organized a company of horsemen, to drill, and in order to improve the condition of the Company, they organized as a cavalry company. When the Mormon flurry came on this Company was ordered to the seat of trouble, and in Jefferson City was reviewed by Governor Boggs. They resumed their march, but on the morning of the second day a courier overtook the Company with an order from the governor recalling them as the troubles had been settled.

If there was such a Company, and Corporal Wood claimed to have been one of it, there should be an effort made to get definite information about it.

NECROLOGY.

GEN. ANDREW J. BAKER died at Centerville, Iowa, April 23, 1911, aged 79 years. He served as Attorney General both in Iowa and in Missouri, in the latter from 1870 to 1872.

DANIEL BARTLETT was born at Boonville, Missouri, in 1801, under Spanish rule. For a short time afterwards his native place was under French rule, and at the time of his death he was living under the third flag without having left the limits of the present state. Mr. Bartlett moved to Sedalia twenty-nine years ago, and died there March 21, 1911, probably the oldest man in the state.

JAMES R. CLAIBORNE died in St. Louis, April 22, 1911. He was born in Franklin county, Virginia, and served in the Confederate army as colonel of the 37th Virginia Regiment. At the close of the war he came to St. Louis, and was twice Prosecuting Attorney, was judge of the Court of Criminal Correction, and was Senator in the Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth General Assembles. At one time he was a candidate for the nomination of Governor on the Democratic ticket.

HON. EPHRAIM W. DAVIS, born in Tennessee, April 2, 1829, and a resident of Laclede county, Missouri, since 1839, died at his home ten miles south of Lebanon, April 30, 1911. In 1872 he was elected a judge of the County Court, and again in 1880; he was then elected a member of the House in the Missouri Legislature for the Thirty-first General Assembly.

DR. NOAH MILLER GLATTFELTER, of St. Louis, a well known Missouri author, died at his home in St. Louis, April 2d, of injuries received by a fall from a ladder, while re-

pairing a fence in his garden. He was a noted botanist in the specialties of willow trees and mushrooms, and has published papers on them. He also compiled the "Record of Casper Glattfelter and his descendants, St. Louis, 1901," this family to which he belonged having come to America in 1570. He was 73 years old, and the funeral was under the direction of Ransom Post, G. A. R.

REV. E. J. HUNT, District Superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Carthage District, a member of this Society and a Missouri author, died in Carthage, Missouri, March 10, 1911, 58 years of age. He was pastor in Sedalia for two years, and for six years was presiding elder of the Sedalia District.

HON. JAMES PROCTOR KNOTT was born in Marion county, Kentucky, August 29, 1830. He studied law and in 1850 came to Memphis, Missouri, where he practiced law. In 1858 he was a member of the House in the Twentieth General Assembly. This he resigned in 1858 for an appointment as Attorney General, vice E. B. Ewing, resigned, and in 1860 he was elected for the next term. On declining to take the oath of allegiance he was removed from office by the ordinance of 1861. In April, 1862, he returned to Kentucky, where he afterwards lived. In 1867 and 1869 he was elected to the Fortieth and Forty-first Congresses, and in 1875 to the Forty-fourth Congress, and relected to the three following. He became noted as a humorist and satirist. His speech in opposition to a grant to a railroad to Duluth, which place he termed the "arctic zenith of the unsalted seas," has become an English classic. From 1883 to 1887 he was Governor of Kentucky. He died at his home in Lebanon, Kentucky, June 18, 1911.

HON. JOSIAH E. MELLETTE, of Springfield, Missouri, where he died March 25, 1910, was born in Henry county, Indiana, September 28, 1848, and graduated from the State Uni-

versity of Indiana in 1872. He was admitted to the bar in Muncie, Indiana, and elected prosecuting attorney of the county, and after two terms was elected to the state legislature of Indiana. In 1893 he came to Missouri, and in 1904 was elected mayor of Springfield. He stood high at the bar of Springfield, and frequently acted as special judge.

REV. C. F. PHILLIPS was born in Coshocton county, Ohio, December 25, 1844, and at the age of 17 he enlisted in the Fifty-first Ohio, and afterwards was for fourteen months in Andersonville prison. In 1866 he married and came to Missouri, and in 1876 was admitted to the Missouri Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, and has been pastor in many of the towns of North Missouri. In 1905 he was elected Chaplain of the House in the General Assembly of Missouri. He died in Princeton, Missouri, February 6, 1911, and the last General Assembly of Missouri adopted resolutions showing the appreciation in which he was held.

REV. JOSEPH RUSSELL, who was Chaplain of the House in the General Assembly of 1903, died at Lutesville, Missouri, April 8, 1911, aged 73 years. He was a native of Tennessee.

PERIODICAL